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The Nation

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The Week

THE semi-official announcement that President Wilson proposes to attend the peace conference has elicited a variety of opinions from newspapers and public men. The published expressions of opinion seem to be, on the whole, unfavorable to Mr. Wilson's plan. It is pointed out by critics that it would be an unprecedented thing for a President to cross the ocean or to attend an international conference, and that, in view of the peculiar prominence of the United States in the negotiations, a question of taste is involved. More important than the question of Mr. Wilson's presence, however, is the question of the make-up of the conference. Whomever the President may appoint as the American delegates, they should be persons not only competent by training and temperament to deal with the problems which are to be solved, but persons also who represent the best, the most generous, and the most progressive tendencies in American life. Neither sex, nor labor, nor seniority is a conclusive test of fitness; the delegates should represent the United States, not this or that class. The peace conference will be a failure, also, if it is not frankly international. If neutrals are to be excluded while the representatives of nations not yet organized are to be received; if the Allies and the United States are to meet simply as victors to dispose of the rights and property of the vanquished, and to hand down decisions which the conquered nations must accept without question, there will be no world betterment worthy of the name. There is, unfortunately, too little evidence as yet that the peace game is to be played in the open, or that the methods of secret diplomacy which have so often been followed during the war are to be abandoned in the work of the conference. Whether Mr. Wilson goes abroad or not is a matter for him to decide; but it is less important that he should attend the conference in person than that he should insist upon the world character of the settlement, and upon the observance of the high principles of political ethics which he has from the first laid down.

WHILE there is still some confusion regarding the exact governmental situation in Germany, the results of the revolution in other directions are already altogether remarkable. Work is being generally resumed. Public meetings, long prohibited or kept under severe restriction, may now be openly held, and the freedom of speech has become as great as the freedom of assembly. Apparently there is still a postal censorship, but all its rigors are reported to have disappeared. A general amnesty for political offenders is promised, and an eight-hour working day is expected to go into effect at the beginning of the new year. What is even more significant is the reported change in the tone and bearing of officials, who have suddenly become both courteous and accommodating. All this is encouraging in the highest degree, and affords ground for hoping that the revolution, however drastic the changes which it entails, may after all be a peaceful one. What will happen when the army is disbanded and the soldiers return to their homes cannot safely be predicted, but there seems no good reason as yet to apprehend that demobilization will result in general disorder. The greatest peril to stability is hunger—a peril which will be intensified when the soldiers, no longer fed through military channels, come back upon the civil organization for food. If the Allies wish to help the political and social reforms which are already under way, they will make every possible effort to feed Germany during the next few months. The great problem of political reorganization, of course, is yet far from solved. Not only must the imperial system be entirely reconstructed, but the systems of government and administration in the several states, and notably in Prussia, must also be changed before Germany can become either a democracy or a republic. The task is great and complicated enough to tax the powers of the ablest men whom Germany can command.

THE announcement that General Joseph Pilsudski has been intrusted by the Polish Regency Council with the task of forming a national Government in Poland, and that Ignace Daszinski has been appointed Premier, may help in bringing to a head the controversy which has been going on in Polish political circles in this country. General Pilsudski has long been recognized as the leader of the popular or democratic element among the Poles—the element which in the United States is represented by the Polish National Defence Council. His imprisonment by the Germans since the summer of 1917 has only added to his popularity among the large section of his countrymen who desire a free Poland on a genuinely democratic basis. Daszinski, since 1896 a Socialist member from Cracow in the Austrian Parliament, is the recognized parliamentary leader of the Poles whose political and military hero is Pilsudski. The formation of a Government under these two leaders may foreshadow a clash with the Polish National Committee at Paris, and with the clerical and reactionary elements which that committee represents. Mr. Paderewski, whose reported ambition to head a new Poland is no longer a secret, is the representative in the United States of the Paris Committee, and since the Detroit convention last September has apparently been working in harmony with Roman Dmowski, the head of the Paris Committee, who is now in this country. The withdrawal of Mr. Paderewski from the recently-formed Democratic Mid-European Union is, on the whole, probably to be regarded as a good thing, if for no other reason than because it will help to clear some of the confusion which has existed in this country regarding the nature of the Paris organization and the influence which it represents.

IS it possible that the Allies and the United States are preparing their respective publics for the announcement of a new policy toward Russia? The London correspondent of the New York *Tribune* reports Lord Robert Cecil as admitting that the Bolshevist movement is world-wide; that "the only remedy" for it is "to find some means of unifying the community"; that all such solutions as higher wages

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and better conditions "fail to touch the root of the matter"; and that "the workers will not be content to receive a share in the profits," but "must be given a share in the management and a share of the capital as well." If copartnership does not offer a solution, he concluded, "I fail to see what is to be done." This is certainly a very different tone from that which, until only the other day, in England and elsewhere, denounced the Bolsheviki as wild-eyed revolutionists bent upon uprooting every valuable social institution and plunging the world into anarchy. The New York *Times*, which has been emitting column and half-column editorial shrieks against the Bolsheviki, now concedes, in its issue of November 17, that the "resounding failure" of the Soviet system in Russia "does not necessarily mean that it cannot succeed in Germany," and that the next few months may show the possibility of reconciling "socialistic theory and inveterate sentiment." Meantime it is announced that a way may perhaps be found of giving Russia representation in the peace conference. It is greatly to be hoped that these straws really show the direction in which the wind is blowing, and that the actual state of affairs in Russia may be considered by the Allies and the United States with the same frankness and absence of blind prejudice which they must wish the world to believe they intend to show in dealing with the other problems confronting them.

FOR several weeks the American public was kept in a state of agitation by reports of a "general massacre of all the upper classes" of Russia on the night of November 10. "It will be another Saint Bartholomew's night," said the dispatches; and the innocent bourgeois population of unhappy Russia was reported to be "in a panic of indescribable proportions." The hideous affair was pre-described, commented upon editorially, and, save for the practical details of execution, carried through by the press before the fateful day arrived. On November 7, it was announced that the "Russian Ambassador" at Washington had communicated with the State Department "proposing that the Bolsheviki and the German agents be held personally responsible for the massacre before an international court." On November 11, the day after the "massacre," an obscure note appeared in one New York paper, the *World*, announcing in its headline that the "threat of massacre seems to have been a fake." Saint Bartholomew's night apparently passed without incident, and the only action of the Bolsheviki which might mark the occasion was a general order "giving amnesty to all arrested hostages and persons alleged to be involved in plots against the Soviets except those whose detention is deemed necessary as a guarantee for the security of the Bolsheviki who have fallen into enemy hands." Not one newspaper copied this report. Having accomplished the massacre it might have seemed inconsistent to bring the dead to life, as well as weakening to the lavishly-documented case against the Bolsheviki.

OUR neighbor the *New Republic* asks who is responsible for the lies about Russia which are being so systematically disseminated in this country. We should like to amplify the question and ask who is responsible for all the particular lies about particular countries which appear in our press with such astonishing frequency. It would seem as if a master hand managed the lighting effects of the vast international stage. At a moment's notice any country in any part of the world, from Greenland to Patagonia, may appear upon our front pages as a paragon of virtue or a demon of wickedness. During the last week several mysterious messages of threatening Bolshevism have suddenly appeared in our press from Amsterdam and The Hague. As a matter of fact the political situation in Holland is extremely simple. Repeatedly the Queen has stated her entire willingness to offer her resignation if a majority of the Dutch people should desire to change their form of government. She is a hardworking executive, with no influence upon the Board of Directors—in this case the House of Representatives. She has to write her way through endless masses of documents each day; and would prefer a quiet life devoted to the education of her small daughter. Let Parliament but say, "Go," and she will go and be grateful. Thus far, however, the vast masses of the people have preferred their safe constitutional régime to further republican experiments. The war has ground Holland between the unyielding granite of the Allies and the flint of the Central Powers. Her people are starving and utterly tired of the eternal but deadening vigilance along the frontiers. The first task is that of reconstruction. It is not likely that this work will be delegated to Mr. Troelstra, the Socialist leader, who has persistently refused to assume responsibility even when it was urged upon him by the Queen herself. More probably, the present Dutch Government will remain in power for some months after the conclusion of the war. Parliament can then discuss the future of the state in peace and decide what form of government ought to be instituted.

THERE seems to be a very real desire on the part of the Government to bring the country as rapidly as possible back to a peace basis. General March has issued orders which will result in the immediate demobilization of 200,000 men; out of the 1,790,000 men under arms in this country, 30,000 will soon be released each day. Secretary Daniels has announced that men who left college to enter the naval service and who now desire to resume their college course will be permitted to resign from the service. Press censorship in connection with cable, postal, and land lines was discontinued on November 15. The voluntary censorship under which the American press placed itself for the period of the war has also ended. Building materials are now released by the Priorities Committee of the War Industries Board for farm and ranch improvements, all projects of every nature undertaken by any railway or water transportation company, construction, extension, and repair of irrigation and drainage projects, highways, parks, playgrounds, public utilities, extension of mines, additions to plants engaged in food production, and new construction or extensions, costing not more than $25,000, on municipal and community buildings, including schoolhouses. For this good news the children will thank Mr. Baruch and his associates. Restriction is abandoned on the manufacture of household commodities, talking machines, watches, and passenger automobiles. The Fuel Administration will coöperate in the release of coal for these industries. The War Industries Board will retain its grip on materials in order to prevent shortage or oversupply. The import and export control exercised by the War Trade Board will probably continue in order to assure shipping space; and because of the need of feeding the peoples of Europe, the Food Administration's activities must go on. Mr. Hoover's task has been increased rather than diminished by the surrender of the Central Powers, with the consequent necessity of feeding their peoples.

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FEW definite policies bearing on the replacement of returned soldiers in industry have as yet been worked out, but various indications point to a gradual solution of the problem. Definite propaganda is being spread among soldiers and sailors to induce them to enlist as sailors in the merchant fleet. Chairman Hurley of the Shipping Board has announced that 250,000 additional skilled men are needed in the shipyards of the country. Since all soldiers are officially classified by trades and vocations, it should be an easy matter to fill any requisition of this sort. A special committee in the Department of Labor, headed by Felix Frankfurter, is handling the work of returning soldiers to their former civilian status. Possibly each local draft board will be constituted a central labor office for the district. A General Wage Adjustment Board has also been suggested which should comprise representatives of labor, capital, and the appropriate Government bureaus.

EVIDENTLY symbols speak louder than words. On Tuesday, November 12, a Socialist parade in New York, marching to Carnegie Hall to celebrate the end of the war and the downfall of autocracy in Germany, was attacked by a crowd of soldiers and sailors. Several women marchers were injured and at least one man was beaten unconscious. Even the papers which commented with satisfaction upon the behavior of the men in uniform admitted that the Socialists committed but one offence, that of carrying red flags—mingled, to be sure, with the flag of the United States. The *World* reported that the Socialists when attacked called out, "Down with militarism." "That was sufficient for the boys in olive-drab. They sailed into that particular section of the parade, ripped away every red flag they could lay their hands on, broke the sticks and threw the bunting on the asphalt." On Wednesday evening following, the speakers at a banquet given by the Society of Arts and Sciences in honor of Charles M. Schwab took pains to place themselves on record against this newly-discovered public menace. A description of this notable occasion in the New York *Times* of November 13 is worthy of quotation: "Job Hedges denounced the carrying of a red flag in a Socialist procession on Tuesday night. The diners arose and cheered when he declared that never again should it be tolerated that the red flag should appear in a parade in the streets of New York. The offence was all the more flagrant, he pointed out, because it occurred within the same week as the signing of the armistice. 'Let us dedicate ourselves so that never again shall be raised the voice or the symbol of disloyalty to what is decent on this earth,' he added. 'The red flag of anarchy must go or the red blood of the martyrs has been shed in vain.' . . . 'I heartily second every thought Mr. Hedges has expressed,' said Mr. Schwab. 'We may think a menace is smothered by our not speaking of it, but I say, let us speak out. No, not speak, but let us act. This red flag of socialism, so-called, must not wave if this audience is going to continue to lead the life it represents—the life of democrats.'" The final step in purifying the streets of New York has been taken by Mayor Hylan, who, on Monday, issued an executive order to the police department to "disperse all unauthorized assemblages and prevent the public display of the red flag in this city." Meanwhile the war on the western front is over; the magnificent effort of the Allied armies has been brought to full fruition by the Socialists of Germany.

THE decision of the Education Department of the State of New York in the case of the three teachers who were dismissed last spring from the DeWitt Clinton High School in this city has been rendered by Thomas E. Finegan, acting Commissioner of Education; the Commissioner, Dr. John H. Finley, having escaped the necessity of passing upon the matter by virtue of his timely absence in Palestine and elsewhere. The decision, as was expected, affirms the decision of the Board of Education, and the separation of the teachers from the schools of New York city is, apparently, made permanent. A careful reading of Mr. Finegan's decision leads one to wonder on what principles of equity, not to speak of justice, the rights of public school teachers in New York against whom official charges may happen to be directed are dealt with by the highest educational authority in the State. The three teachers in question were suspended from their positions in November, 1917, on charges of "conduct unbecoming a teacher." The president of the Board of Education, William G. Willcox, in a speech before the Board on December 19, specifically stated that "the three teachers are not charged with disloyalty"; and the charges themselves, stripped of non-essential incidents and differences, amounted to nothing more specific (save, in the case of one defendant, a debatable question of moral taste) than the allegation that they had been neutral regarding the war and had failed to show a sufficiently enthusiastic patriotism. Mr. Finegan, however, in his decision, rides rough-shod over the defendants, and declares that "a person who does not, without reservation, utilize all his intellectual powers and exert all his influence as a teacher" to make the schools a place where "the fundamental principles of America's philosophy of life and government" are efficiently taught, "fails properly to support the Government in this war." The parts of Mr. Finegan's decision in which he deals with the substantive elements in the case read more like a stump speech than like the reasoned words of the acting head of a great educational system. If this is the way New York is to foster patriotism in its schools, the sooner all the teachers organize to protect themselves and rid the schools of politics, the better.

WHEN the plans for the present musical season, now in full swing, were made, nobody could have foreseen that the war would end so soon and so suddenly. The fact that it is going to be one of the busiest seasons on record seems, therefore, to indicate that the world conflict has not harmed music and musicians so much as had been expected. Doubtless the new status given to music by the discovery that it is absolutely essential in camps and trenches has given it a new impetus. President Wilson's proclamation that "there is no better way to express patriotism than through music" is being heeded daily in a thousand ways. Now that Austria is no longer our enemy, why should not Fritz Kreisler return to the stage? Paderewski, busy for two seasons with propaganda in behalf of a free Poland, will doubtless come back to Carnegie Hall soon. In recent speeches he has congratulated his Polish countrymen on their new liberty, adding that he congratulated himself, too, on his liberty to return to his piano and his composing. Creative work, apparently, has stood nearly at a standstill, and not only in his case. No great musical work, so far as known, has been conceived during these four or five years of war.

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Hands Off in Europe

MR. WILSON'S lofty utterance in announcing to Congress the original armistice terms is well supplemented by Lloyd George's appeal for a peace of justice unmarred by the desire for vengeance. Certainly Allies whose cause has been crowned with such glorious military success have no reason to be either petty or revengeful. Moreover, Mr. Wilson and Mr. Lloyd George both declare that the idealistic aims they have declared to be those of the Allies shall be lived up to in the peace. If they so insist, the entire outcome of the war will be as gratifying as is that of its first phase. When one reads the dispatches and sees how complete is the collapse of autocracy and German militarism, —far more complete and thorough-going than anybody in either France, England, or the United States had dared to hope—one sees the reason for proceeding with a gentle hand. Mr. Wilson has already recognized the necessity of providing food.

Mr. Wilson is both a Southerner and a historian. In treating a fallen and defeated foe he surely cannot forget the treatment extended by the North to Lee, Davis, Johnston, and other unsuccessful Confederates. No more glorious page exists in our history than that which portrays the clemency and forgiveness extended to the Confederates in the face of a revengeful spirit in the North—about as vengeful, as is shown by the editorial from the New York *Times* of April 17, 1865, which we recently reprinted, as that which exists in certain quarters to-day against our late enemies. Had the North yielded to this feeling, had it shed the blood of the Confederate leaders, it would not only have made martyrs of them, it would long have delayed the reconciliation which has taken place. Yet those Confederate leaders were also accused of piracy, of wicked cruelties, of "wholesale massacres and torturings, wholesale starvation of prisoners." We cannot believe that any Allied statesman will seriously demand the trying of the Kaiser and his generals or insist that Holland violate the right of asylum. But it is well, nevertheless, to recall the wisdom of the North's treatment of the men who desired to destroy the American Government. The last thing to do with the Kaiser is to make a martyr of him.

But to mingle justice with charity is not all that we ought to do abroad. Nothing more discouraging has appeared in our press than the sudden demand that we go in and police Russia, Germany, and Austria against any possible manifestations of Bolshevism. The unabashed New York *Tribune* speaks of "Bolshevist Russia as the only armed enemy in the field. The Allies are still at war with her. She must be crushed as Germany has been crushed." The *Tribune* also thinks that Finland is our "covert enemy" and that her political and military status "leaves much to be cleared up." The *Tribune* has the unenviable distinction of being about the only American newspaper to regret that the war stopped when it did. As for Mr. David Lawrence, who so often writes as the mouthpiece of officialdom, he declares that if the Allies "fail to remove the elements that are making for anarchy inside of Germany, particularly the leaders of the proletariat who believe the way to get food is to introduce their own ideas of requisitioning or commandeering, the whole situation will require the presence of American armies in Europe for an indefinite period of time." Unless food is sent into Germany, he says, Germany is likely to fall into the hands of a German Lenine and Trotzky, and then, of course, we must take hold and intervene. In other words, we are to throw overboard Mr. Wilson's official assurances that we are not going to interfere in the internal concerns of the enemy countries.

Now we submit that if this policy is carried out it will do the grossest violence to our best American traditions. "What," we hear it asked, "do you approve of Bolshevism?" Not at all. The *Nation* never has approved and never will approve of reform by force. But it does believe that the right of revolution is sacred to a people, and that the very principle of self-determination which has been laid down as one of the objects of this war forbids us to interfere with political development in either Russia or Germany. That development is entirely the domestic concern of those peoples. If Bolshevism proves to be the desire of the majority in Germany, as it has done in Russia, and if it can maintain itself in Germany, as in Russia, for a year—or for a hundred years—then that is Germany's concern and hers alone. We shall not admire her taste in government; we shall profoundly deplore the resort to violence and the going to extremes. But we shall maintain with all possible emphasis that it must still remain her affair and not ours. We shall believe that she alone must purge herself of her past wrongdoing and false leadership, no matter what the cost; that reform from within will be the only reform worth while; and that any reform imposed from without by foreign force will hinder and not help. Foreign interference must by its very nature become hated and distrusted, even if it performs the rôle of the benefactor bringing order and food. It is a profound convulsion through which Germany is passing. It is searching out her very depths. What is going to come of it no man knows. But if democracy means anything, it means to-day: "Hands off, let them work out their own regeneration; give them food, give them sympathy, but under no circumstances compel them by our bayonets to adopt the kind of Government which we think they ought to have."

It is because of this belief that we so ardently hope soon to hear the news of the withdrawal of the Allied and American troops from Russia. Our war upon that country was excused on the ground that it was necessary to prevent the Germans from overrunning Russia. That excuse falls to the ground now; yet we hear that, with the war over, our fleet and that of the Allies are to force their way to Petrograd; that while everywhere else the hated "Hun" is being disarmed and demobilized, his forces in the western Russian provinces are to be used to "maintain order." Was there ever anything so topsy-turvy? What will the Russians say to the Allied use of Germans against them? And this further forcible action, be it remembered, is taken against a country with which we are not legally at war. Upon the desirability of going to war with the Russians Congress has never passed. Moreover if a new Government should arise without Lenine and Trotzky and under another name, though just as radical, it is possible that our fury to intervene would not abate. Be that as it may, however, we repeat that we shall be denying our democracy and going back upon our historic traditions if we continue to war upon the Russians and undertake to police Germany. What would we Americans have thought of any foreign nation which should have dared to police us in the days of our chaos and of our infirm Government during the trying and unhappy years 1781-1789?

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The Armistice

OF the armistice terms imposed upon Germany by the Allies there are two texts. The first, dated November 11, was incorporated by President Wilson in the address which he read to Congress on the same day. A "corrected text," made public in the newspapers on November 13, contained textual or substantive variations from the first text in no less than eighteen of the thirty-five articles. Why the President of the United States used, or was allowed to use, in his communication to Congress, what seems to have been only a preliminary draft of the articles, or why it should have been deemed necessary to revise more than half of the articles within a few hours of the publication of the document, does not appear. The fact that the armistice was drawn up by Marshal Foch and the Supreme War Council, and not by Mr. Wilson, does not mean that Mr. Wilson was necessarily ignorant of the terms until the document was handed to him; the probability is that he was fully advised regarding the deliberations of the Council, and knew as well as did the Council what the terms were to be. If it is to be assumed, as Washington dispatches indicate, that the changes were made by Marshal Foch with the authority of the Council, it must also be assumed that such extensive and important changes were made in order to meet some new and grave situation.

The impelling motive, no doubt, was the rapid progress of the revolution in Germany and a sudden fear of danger from Russia. How far the armistice will pave the way for a wise and just treatment of either situation will depend upon the way in which the Allies use their power. So far as the armistice deals with the cessation of hostilities, the surrender of warships, artillery, munitions and supplies, the abandonment of pillage and wanton destruction, the evacuation of occupied territory in France and Belgium, the protection of the civil population, and similar matters, its provisions are beyond cavil. Some of the terms are severe, but they are not more severe than Germany deserves or should have expected. The Allies are determined that, whatever else happens, there shall be no renewal of the war on the part of Germany; and they have properly imposed terms which, so far as can be seen, will make such renewal impossible.

In two important respects, on the other hand, the armistice terms may well occasion anxiety. Not only are the German forces to retire from occupied territory on the left bank of the Rhine, but the Allies and the United States are also to garrison Mainz, Coblenz, and Cologne, together with a considerable area on the right bank of the river and "the strategic points of the regions." In other words, the Allied and American forces are to occupy, during the period of the armistice, an undefined portion of German territory which they have not conquered and from which the Germans are to retire in order that the Allies and Americans may enter. All other considerations aside, it is clear that no provisions of the armistice are so likely to stir the enmity of the German people as this presence of foreign soldiers within their borders. With Germany shaken to its foundations by a violent political and social revolution, the presence of an overwhelming Allied and American police, fully armed and ready for instant action, may well seem the very negation of the principles of democracy and self-determination which the opponents of Germany have proclaimed, and which the German people, in the troubled moment of a great defeat, are trying to apply to their own political condition.

The revised provision in regard to Russia is deeply significant. As the terms were announced by President Wilson, Germany was to withdraw its troops from any territory which before the war belonged to Russia. Under the revised terms, the withdrawal of German troops from Russian territory is to take place "as soon as the Allies, taking into account the internal situation of these territories, shall decide that the time for this has come." Why this change of front over night? One reason at least is clear. The Germans, instead of aiding the Bolsheviki, as the Allies and the United States have all along been asserting, are actually holding the Bolsheviki in check; and with the wave of Bolshevism now sweeping the Central Powers and threatening to reach every neutral state in western Europe, the Allies are in no hurry to see another flood let loose in Russia itself. German soldiers may be anathema to the Allies and the United States, but they are good enough to be used in stopping the Bolsheviki. Back of all this stands the dark spectre of an Allied and American invasion of Russia, already foreshadowed by the terms of the Austro-Hungarian armistice. The Dardanelles and the Black Sea are open; all Russian vessels seized by Germany in the Black Sea are to be handed over, not to Russia, but to the Allies and the United States, which are also to hold in trust, until peace is signed, the Russian gold which Germany has seized. Is it possible that the Allies and the United States are seriously contemplating the imposition of their own will upon the Russian people, not by their own strength alone, but with the help of German troops?

If Thine Enemy Hunger

RARELY has the world listened to a more moving appeal than the cry of the German women to Mrs. Wilson and Jane Addams "that the long suffering of the women and children of Germany may not end in unspeakable disaster." Their appeal dramatizes the pent-up misery of the world as almost nothing else has done during these four long years.

The food situation of the world is grave almost beyond comprehension. For four years the hand that should have held the plough has grasped the sword, and in every quarter of the globe fields have lain untilled. Difficulties of transport there have been, indeed; the hateful submarine has done its deadly work all too successfully. But the underlying trouble is deeper than lack of ships; the food does not exist in sufficient quantities, and what food there is cannot, in the existing state of political disorganization, be put into the hungry mouths. The full horror and menace of the situation are only gradually revealing themselves as the governmental conspiracy of silence necessarily imposed by a state of war begins to be broken up. In Great Britain, though food supplies are relatively low, the shortage is not threatening; but France and Italy face a food problem whose seriousness we have not been allowed to know. Switzerland and Holland, the Scandinavian countries and Spain, after four years of increasing deprivation, all watch the fires of revolution smoulder as their people cry out for bread. In the beaten Central Empires, hunger and misery have already overturned almost every throne; revolutionary Gov-

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ernments hold sway in Berlin and Vienna. Famished Turkey is scarcely less wretched than the Armenians and Syrians she has oppressed. Bolshevist Russia is starving, while Allied and American and Czecho-Slovak troops still strive to cut her off from the grain fields of Siberia. It is almost impossible to exaggerate the threat of famine and actual starvation that hangs over Europe as the guns cease their firing on the western front.

Only America is untouched—America, rich, prosperous, well-fed, powerful, self-confident, unchastened—America, with a surplus of food in a hungry world. A sobering responsibility and opportunity confronts us. Already our Government has sensed the danger. Already Mr. Hoover is on his way to Europe to help direct the enormous task of organizing the food supply in such a manner that disaster may be averted. Already we are pledged to feed an orderly Germany, but we are not pledged to lift a finger in aid of Bolshevist Russia. Mr. Hoover's preliminary survey of the world's food supplies discloses a shortage of 3,000,000 tons in high-protein food for animals and a lack of 3,000,000,000 pounds in fats, a sugar shortage if Europe lengthens her present too short rations, and a "sufficiency" of cereals and beef "with economy in consumption"—all these calculations being based on certain assumptions as to transportation, production, and consumption which may be completely upset. And at best, as Mr. Hoover points out, "there are conditions of famine in Europe that will be beyond our power to remedy." Of the hoped-for food total, our Food Administrator estimates that North America must provide during this coming winter no less than sixty per cent., and the United States, with the West Indies, must furnish for export a total of 20,000,000 tons, as against pre-war exports of 6,000,000 tons.

Such a programme calls for careful economy and hearty coöperation on our part. Under the stress of the war-making motives we have disclosed a remarkable unity of purpose and capacity for voluntary action. Can we show the same power for the sake of saving life and preserving civilization? The elaborate psychological apparatus of fear and hate so carefully built up during the war must be promptly torn down and replaced by a genuine desire to help. The Kaiser is gone, and working-class leaders rule in Berlin —but their wives and children, like the women and children of all Europe, stretch out their hands to us for food. Our political task abroad is to-day that of helping build up the new democratic forces in Germany as in every other country in Europe. One tool is ready to our hand. We can feed the hungry. Every American should feel the responsibility. Let our two millions of soldiers come home with all possible speed in order to resume the interrupted tasks of production and to lessen by so many the mouths for which food must be carried across the seas. Let selfish schemes of trade wait. Our Government has promised to act promptly; let it have support no less loyal than that of the year just past. Let us act generously, courageously, with no meticulous calculation of political profit and loss, with no craven fear of the strange new governmental and social shapes that loom on the eastern horizon. Shall we not for once try the experiment of acting in the spirit of that greatest of all common men the words of whose apostle to the strange peoples of the West are filled with a profound wisdom for to-day: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink; for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."

The Sisson Documents

THE report on the authenticity of the so-called Sisson documents, signed by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson and Professor Samuel N. Harper, and scattered broadcast by the Committee on Public Information through the press and in a pamphlet edition of the documents themselves, not only calls for stern rebuke from every American historical scholar who values the good name of his profession, but fairly justifies a Congressional investigation of the conduct of Mr. Creel and his Committee in the whole affair. Had Mr. Creel refused to submit his documents to Dr. Jameson and Professor Harper, or even rejected their report after it was prepared, he would have been blameless and would have scored a point for his Committee; but having accepted the report and included it in his official edition of the documents, he must share the odium which the transaction casts upon the good name of the Government and the integrity of American historical scholarship.

Mr. Creel's first step was altogether creditable. Having in mind the attacks which have been made, particularly by the New York *Evening Post*, upon the credibility of the Sisson documents, he requested the National Board for Historical Service, a self-constituted body of historical students formed early in the war to assist the Government in such ways as might offer, to appoint a committee to pass upon the authenticity of the papers. The Board appointed as such committee Dr. Jameson and Professor Harper. Dr. Jameson is a historical scholar of international reputation, director of the Department of Historical Research in the Carnegie Institution at Washington, and editor of the *American Historical Review*. A higher authority in the treatment of historical documents could hardly have been chosen, and there was every reason to anticipate a judicial decision in any report to which he affixed his name.

The selection of Professor Harper, on the other hand, was amazing. Professor Harper is, indeed, professor of the Russian language and institutions in the University of Chicago, and presumably is able to read the Sisson documents in the original and to pass upon the accuracy of the English translations. A more unfit person in other respects, however, could hardly have been found in academic circles. Professor Harper is an open opponent of the Bolshevik Government. He is on record in print as accepting the authenticity of the Sisson documents. He is, or was, a member of the Russian Information Bureau at New York, a propagandist agency established and maintained by Mr. Bakhmeteff, the so-called Russian Ambassador; and a member also of the American-Russian League, an organization believed to be very friendly to Mr. Bakhmeteff and to intervention in Russia. Had a paid attorney for the anti-Soviet forces in this country been employed to pass judgment upon the authenticity of documents purporting to show a corrupt connection between Lenine and Trotzky and the German Government, the choice could not have been worse.

The report is such as the followers of Mr. Bakhmeteff and the enemies of Soviet Russia might have desired. Mr. Creel submitted the documents to the committee. Mr. Sisson "detailed . . . with all apparent candor" his connection with them, and "several officials" at Washington kindly contributed "other pertinent and valuable information." If anyone outside of official and prejudiced circles was invited to testify, the fact does not appear from the report. On

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the basis of this sham investigation the committee "have no hesitation in declaring that we see no reason to doubt the genuineness or authenticity" of the first fifty-three documents; that two others are perhaps derived, at one or two removes, from actual documents; and that of the remainder, while their genuineness cannot be positively affirmed, there is "little in any of them that makes it doubtful." Of the many criticisms of the documents, only those of the *Evening Post*, and a part only of those, are dealt with; and "most of them fall away," we are told, when it is remembered that the more important documents are written in Russian (not an entirely unknown language, it may be observed), and when the difference between the old style and new style Russian calendar is regarded. A number of the strongest substantive criticisms voiced in the editorial columns of the *Evening Post* and in letters of various correspondents are passed over altogether; no attempt is made to meet the weighty objections brought against the credibility of some of the documents by the *Petit Parisien* and the *New Europe* months ago, and more recently by the New York *Call;* the source of the documents, if it was ever traced by the committee beyond Mr. Sisson's story, is not revealed, and the statements of alleged fact in the documents themselves are passed over with only one or two unimportant allusions.

If two German historians had made a report of this flimsy and superficial sort on a highly controversial matter in which the reputation of the German Government for truthfulness and fair dealing was involved, would Dr. Jameson and Professor Harper have accepted it as a scholarly performance? Must the reputation of American scholars go by the board as a part of the wreckage of war?

The British Election

THE obscurity which has hitherto surrounded the political intentions of Mr. Lloyd George has been lifted by the address which he made on Thursday of last week to the Liberal supporters of his Government. Apparently the policy which he outlined is designed to secure the support of the Tory liberals and the liberal Tories, and its effect, if successful, will be to create a centre *bloc* and to revolutionize the traditional alignments of British politics. Mr. George clearly aspires to the leadership of this *bloc*, and while Mr. Bonar Law may explain to his Conservative friends that the coalition is meant only for the period of reconstruction, it is virtually certain that it will remain a permanent party if it wins the next election.

The prestige which the victorious end of the war has brought to Mr. Lloyd George may well enable him to gain a respectable majority at the polls—a prediction subject to one qualification which will be mentioned presently. Meantime it is of some importance to observe that this new development will break up the traditional British party system beyond repair. It is certain that the extreme Tory protectionist faction will live by itself, forming a vociferous if not very effective group of the extreme Right. Similarly, at the other end, the Liberal party will be divided. The Asquith Liberals will probably rally around their old leader; and Mr. Asquith is still a formidable figure in English political life. Not all of the former Liberal party will, however, be found in this group. There is an important and capable, though not numerous company of radicals who will find themselves in closer sympathy with the Labor party, and possibly they will be merged in it.

Mr. George's address to his Liberal supporters is such a document as we are familiar with whenever there is an endeavor to unite incongruous elements into one body. To the Liberals the Premier says that there must be Home Rule for Ireland, but he immediately throws a sop to the Conservatives by asserting that, of course, Ulster must not be coerced. This leaves the rock on which the Irish question has made so persistent and tragic a shipwreck still *in situ.* To the Liberals he says that Mr. Wilson's third point prevents any idea of economic war; and then he turns to the Tories and says that he does not go so far as the resolutions of the Paris Economic Conference—which leaves the Tories to infer that he means to go some distance in that direction. This obviously means imperial preference. To the Liberals, he preaches the necessity of a league of nations; to the Tories he concedes the necessity of "an efficient army to police the empire," and leaves them to infer that until the league of nations is a *fait accompli*, his "efficient army" will be raised by conscription. It is specially to be noted that he does not promise that conscription shall disappear from England until the league of nations is formed; but his language is so carefully chosen that in the event of his finding during the next few weeks that the British people have had enough of conscription, he will be able to make the words bear another interpretation.

Meantime it is further to be observed that he makes a deliberate bid for labor support by outlining a social programme containing proposals for housing, a minimum wage, the reduction of the working day, and land reform, while his vagueness regarding the Paris Economic Conference proposals leaves the big business interests room to hope that he has also something up his sleeve for them. Last of all, his eloquent plea for a peace of justice, while no doubt perfectly sincere, is a deliberate appeal for support to the moral sense of the nation; but it is somewhat ominous that Mr. George's henchman, Mr. Bonar Law, should say in the House of Commons that "it was believed that with the exception of one clause, where the President was not quite explicit, everything which the Allies ever asked for could be claimed under the fourteen points enunciated by the President." As the secret treaties have not yet been denounced, we may be forgiven if we say that this statement provokes in us a profound misgiving.

We cannot escape the feeling that Mr. George is making a hazardous experiment in rope-walking. He seems to be saying, like Lowell's candidate for the Presidency:

> I ain't a Wig, I ain't a Tory,
> I'm just a candidate, in short.

The net effect of his speech is to leave him, like the same ambitious worthy, "fronting south by north." We venture to predict that whatever its immediate consequences in this election, Mr. George's attempt to sit on two stools will, in the end, have the usual result of such gymnastics.

His equivocal position regarding conscription is likely to provide the storm centre of the coming election; and here he will have the combined opposition of the Asquith Liberals and the Labor party to face. The soldier vote is also likely to be alienated; and most of all will Mr. George have to deal with the instinctive British dislike of compulsory military service. It would be idle to prognosticate the issue—there are too many uncertain factors involved.

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The Scope of the Settlement

IT is not a war that is to be closed; it is a world order that, having been thrown into the melting pot, must be recast. A number of questions that six months ago would have stood in the forefront of points to be covered in a treaty of peace have already been answered by the armistice. On the territorial side its terms are not equivalent, of course, to a final adjudication. Yet unquestionably they are significant. All Allied country occupied by the Central Powers, including Alsace-Lorraine, is to be evacuated. Italia Irredenta and the Adriatic shore are to be handed over to Allied occupation. Germany's forces in East Africa are to leave this, the last of all her colonies. The Black Sea ports are to be evacuated and German troops are to be withdrawn from Russia whenever the Allies so desire. The treaties of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest are to be denounced, with all that this implies in regard to the Baltic Provinces, Poland, Bessarabia, and the Dobrudja. While this is not legally decisive as to the fate of any of these regions, it nevertheless indicates the ultimate status in certain cases at least, as for instance Alsace-Lorraine and the Italian districts of Austria. Furthermore, the question of indemnities is in some degree settled by the armistice provisions for repayment and reparation.

The problems still to be dealt with fall into three main categories. In the first place, there are the territorial questions of boundaries to be laid down and of the new political grouping of peoples. To those interested mainly in questions of national independence these problems largely fill the field of vision and appear as the very substance of the peace settlement. And there is no doubt of their vast importance to human happiness, to the satisfaction of the sense of justice, and to the chances of lasting peace. Yet their relative significance, as compared with other types of problems, is apt to be exaggerated. The second aspect of the peace is that of international relations. The creation of a league of nations and the associated task of disarmament are to a whole school of political thinkers the chief gain to be hoped for. The third phase of the settlement is that which looms largest to those who are at the two poles of social-economic thought, to the capitalist and the Socialist. They agree in making the commercial and economic system established by the plenipotentiaries the criterion of the peace.

The principles which are to govern in the specific settlements in these three fields are understood to be those laid down by President Wilson. At least, Germany asked for peace on this basis, and the Allies allowed it to be reported that they had agreed at Versailles on the Wilson programme. How far this nebulous gentlemen's agreement, apparently not embodied in any signed and sealed protocol, will hold against the play of political and commercial forces remains to be seen. We may surmise that such policies as those, for instance, that Mr. Hughes would have us believe Australia stands for, will yield, if they do yield, less because they contravene the President's terms than because new currents of democratic will are able to make themselves effectively felt.

In regard to the first set of problems, those of territorial adjustment, the Wilsonian principle of self-determination will probably be approximated in the actual settlement with varying degrees of accuracy in different cases. It will be easier to apply in countries with a developed political consciousness than in more primitive regions, and it is obvious that it is likely to be applied in proportion as it works out in harmony with the interests of the victorious party. The German Socialists of the Scheidemann group called attention some time ago to "peoples, formerly independent, of a higher civilization, which became the prey of imperialistic domination, but the political rights of which have undergone no changes during the present war. To this group belong Ireland, Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, India, Thibet, Korea, and other countries, which once were independent states." The status of these and other subjects of the Allied Powers will hardly come up for consideration at the peace conference—unless, indeed, Ireland succeeds in forcing a hearing there.

The territorial problems of Central Europe involve, in the Baltic region, the destinies of Esthonians, Letts, Lithuanians, and the people of Schleswig-Holstein; of Poles, Ukrainians, Czechs, Slovaks, Austrian-Germans and Germans in borderlands and mixed districts everywhere, of Magyars and Rumanians. The Balkan settlement will have to adjust the relations of Slovenians, Croatians, Serbs—whether Orthodox, Roman Catholic, or Mohammedan, whether subjects or former subjects of Austria-Hungary, Servia, Montenegro, or Turkey—of Albanians, Bulgarians, Koutzo-Vlachs, and Turks. That is to say, it must settle their boundaries, their relations to one another, and their relations to their neighbors, to Italy, Austria-Hungary (or whatever takes the place of Austria-Hungary), Rumania, and Turkey.

The coming conference must also make the long-deferred settlement of the inheritance of the Sick Man of Europe, jealousy in regard to which has kept the Great Powers in a state of unrest ever since it first became evident that the date of liquidation was drawing on. This problem may be looked at as one of lands—European Turkey (that is, in the main, Constantinople), the Islands, Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Palestine; or from the point of view of the problems of the Straits, the Ægean, and the Black Sea. In any case it involves the future of Armenians, Syrians, Jews, Arabs, Persians, Ottoman Turks, Kurds, and the peoples of the Caucasus.

This brings our survey around by the back way to that which yesterday was the empire of the Czars, with its complex of ethnic and social elements from Finland to Vladivostok.

Further afield and even less easily solved by the nationality rule lie the African colonies that Germany has lost in this war; and, in the Pacific, the Islands of German New Guinea, two of the Samoan Islands, and the foothold in Asia which the Kaiser seized in 1897 at Kiao-Chau.

It is clear that all these problems of the territorial order, together constituting the first set of problems of the peace, are sufficiently formidable and that the second group, those of international organization, will have a chance of being satisfactorily worked out in proportion as the territorial settlement is a fair and reasonable one. It is to be hoped, however, that the negotiators will not make the mistake of confusing the idea of a permanent peace with the idea of a permanent territorial adjustment, since any arrangement whatsoever would be bound to become obsolete and obstruc-

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tive in the course of time. What is above all other things necessary is an elasticity which will make future readjustments and developments easily practicable. The peaceful separation of Norway from Sweden, and more recently the partial separation of Iceland from Denmark, are of good omen. The possibility of changes as the need for them occurs is even more important than any specific territorial decision now.

The second group of peace problems deal with the reorganizing of relations between states. The aim should be to make war both unnecessary and impossible and to facilitate to the utmost international coöperation for the common benefit. It is not merely a matter of arranging for arbitration and conciliation along the lines begun upon at The Hague, nor even of securing compulsory submission of disputes and an interval of postponed hostilities, with effective sanctions. This is all that many statesmen have in mind as the maximum that is practicable, but with a beginning once made, the work of its own weight will press to be carried further, if not at the peace conference, then later.

In addition to its judicial functions the legislative aspects of a society of nations, however much or little organized, must inevitably be considered. International law as it has been understood hitherto must be in part confirmed, in part recast. Provision will have to be made for international laws or regulations, if only in the shape of non-compulsory understandings and rules of the road.

And without emphasizing any classic theory of tripartite functions, provision will also have to be made for immediate executive action. Theory or no theory, arrangements will have to be worked out for getting common international business done in common. During the war this has been accomplished for the Allied group in an emergency way, and now the pressing need of control, in the common interest, of many things from corn to cholera, will insure that something will be done along this most important line, as part of the post-bellum settlement. The development of this aspect of international organization, which has been so much less discussed than its judicial aspects, may far outstrip that of the latter just because it will be more immediately necessary.

In steering away from international anarchy the fathers of the international constitution must avoid the opposite danger of a rigid super-state. If they are to succeed they will have to find a way to make a society of nations which is neither a mere expression of the will of a few predominant Great Powers nor a mob, paralyzed by a *liberum veto*, passing resolutions unreal because not in relation to any effective mass of national will. They must also, if they are to succeed, find a way to make the people of all countries feel that they are represented, in a real and direct way, in the new international authority.

Questions of armament and disarmament will also be up for consideration. Literal disarmament may prove really more practicable as well as infinitely more important than some half-hearted attempt at concerted limitation. Questions of the conduct of war will claim much attention only if the old type of political thinking and political purposes prevail at the peace table. In that case the hopes of the idealists go for naught. Europe, and with it now the rest of the world, will then be back in the old evil round. And at the conference or afterward elaborate rules of war by sea and land will be threshed out and decisions arrived at as to what kinds of poisonous gases may be used, and the like—rules inevitably and of their very nature bound to be broken unless rendered meaningless by becoming obsolete.

If those who hope that this war will prove to have been in actual fact a war to end war have their way even in part they will see that private munition makers and their pernicious activities are brought under complete control and that the profit is taken out of the war business. This achievement may be simplified if the Krupps follow the Kaiser, and if with the rising tide of democracy the Allied countries know how to deal with Krupps of their own. Democratic delegates will perhaps bring up also the problem of how to replace secret diplomacy by a service expressly designed to create friendly, open, and coöperative relations between peoples.

The third field of the settlement, however, rather than the territorial or the international-political, may prove the crucial one, for it is there that the protagonists of the world-era now opening will make the first trial of their strength. Economic imperialists and democrats have fought side by side in the present war to overcome the menace of dynastic autocracy. Dynastic autocracy is dead and will shortly be buried. A new alignment becomes clear. On the one hand are those to whom the world is a field to be exploited for profit and who propose to use political and military power to this end. On the other side are those who, by whatever name they call themselves, and whatever their social theories, are aiming at a world actually made safe for democracy, that is, organized in the interests of liberty and fraternity. The two groups will almost inevitably join issue at the peace conference. The delegates will be faced with concrete problems of shipping, tariffs, public debts, foreign investments, spheres of influence, international financial arrangements of all sorts.

In the matter of backward regions, whether or not technically colonies, all three aspects of the settlement may be involved. This is a territorial problem; it is *par excellence* a commercial problem; it may be lifted to the plane of a problem of international organization. This will be the case, however, only if the conference developes enough constructive statesmanship to constitute a new and workable type of administrative body answerable not to one but to all peoples, to whom to entrust the task of advancing the interests of natives themselves while also facilitating the development of the natural resources which peoples without scientific technique and capital can neither use nor expect indefinitely to hold out of use. Some such international plan has been so often and so promisingly advocated that its emergence in practicable form at the peace conference is by no means impossible and might prove its greatest achievement.

The balance of forces that will determine whether these and related problems are to be dealt with in the one spirit or the other will not, we may suppose, be worked out at the green table, but in the social-economic struggle going on in every country, whether in visible revolutionary shape or quietly below the surface and in slow, orderly, constitutional developments. The complacent stand-patters and those sunk in ruts of intellectual routine who assume that as a matter of course this peace will be determined along the old conventional political lines reckon without their host, or rather without the hosts of the plain people in an era of contagious revolutionary movement which already makes the events of '48 look like a tempest in a teapot. How far the radical elements in England, France, and Italy will be

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able to make themselves felt in the selection of plenipotentiaries or to influence their decisions is uncertain. In America the labor point of view as represented by Mr. Gompers offers little hope, and there seems no prospect of anything more uncompromising than the liberalism of Mr. Wilson himself.

Yet a peace to which a Czarless Russia and a Kaiserless Germany and Austria are parties is bound to be profoundly modified by that very fact. It works in two ways—both by the changes involved by the disappearance of the menace of vast military and naval establishments maintained by these countries, and by the change in what they will themselves desire to secure from the peace. Their eyes will surely not be fixed on a Slavic Constantinople or a German Bagdad or a Balkan peninsula dominated by Vienna. They will presumably not be seeking colonies that they have neither means nor desire to exploit. As the spokesmen of the countries that lost the war, they may not carry much weight, but the cause of democracy is the cause of all, except those who profit by its weakness. All countries are menaced by those who dream of trade empires built up on preferential tariffs, of profitable control of tropical raw materials and of the custom of Asiatic and African peoples, of trade wars and trade alliances and the flag as the servant of trade, of Mexican oil and the markets of China and the trade routes of Mesopotamia. If this type of mind is to prevail at the peace board, the settlement will not prove lasting. It requires no fine ear to detect the tramp of those whose economic ideas are of a different order.

E. G. B.

The German Revolution

By OBSERVER

WILL the German revolution go further to the left? This question is doubtless being asked all over the world, and it may be worth while to attempt an analysis of the situation in so far as is possible with the very imperfect and somewhat conflicting information at our disposal.

Judging superficially, it might almost be proved that the revolution will remain within the bounds of what is known in America as "law and order." Revolution in Germany in the past had a way of cheating itself of its objects. I have just been reading a speech delivered in Berlin in 1849 on the "Principles of Democracy." That speech might have been spoken to-day by a radical Socialist. Let the cynic or the man of hope within each of us draw his own conclusions. In 1848 Friedrich Wilhelm, King of Prussia, was compelled by the revolutionaries to stand bareheaded as the bodies of those who had fallen in the Berlin uprising were carried past the *Schloss*. But the next year, at the National Assembly at Frankfort, the fruits of the revolution were all but lost. Is it in any way symbolic that the bodies of those who have just fallen in Berlin have been taken to the burial ground of the 1848 revolution in Friedrichstrasse?

The despatches are confused as to the personalities constituting the present republican Government at Berlin. It appears, however, that there has been established a Regency Council or Council of National Plenipotentiaries, consisting of six men, with Ebert as Chancellor, and with Scheidemann, Landsberg, Haase, Dittmann, and Barth in general charge of the policies of the main departments of Government. There would seem to be an administrative council consisting of Solf and a number of others, each of whom is the administrator of a particular department, answerable to the Regency Council or Council of National Plenipotentiaries. The various Soviets of the country and their Central Executive Committee in Berlin would also seem to be answerable to the Regency Council.

The personalities of the majority Socialists in the Regency Council would seem almost to be a guarantee that the revolution will be kept within moderate bounds. Strange fate that Ebert, Scheidemann, Landsberg, and the Majority Socialist party machine should be looked to for a well-behaved revolution by that international bourgeoisie which during the war execrated their very names, while the heroic Liebknecht, Lebedour, Luxemburg, and other Independent Socialists are now labeled "Reds" and "Bolsheviks."

Ebert, from all the evidence, is a man of ability and integrity. Before Bebel retired he suggested Ebert as his successor, although Scheidemann was next in line for promotion. This indicates that despite the superior intellectual power of Scheidemann, he has not been able to inspire the complete confidence of his party. Scheidemann himself has contended that this was due primarily to his aggressiveness and his advanced ideas. Indeed, in the present situation, the personality of Scheidemann is one of the important factors. It is not safe to say that he will under all circumstances incline to the right. During the great strikes at the beginning of the year, when the German workers protested against the coming offensive, Scheidemann was so carried away that he became part of the Soviet that was even then organized for a short while. It may be of interest to note that both Scheidemann and Ebert were called upon by the *Bergische Arbeiterstimme*, the Independent Socialist organ in Solingen, Scheidemann's district, to resign from the Reichstag and to submit themselves to an election because they were elected originally upon a platform entirely different from that which they now represent. Landsberg, responsible in the Regency Council for publicity, art, and literature, is said to be a genuinely conservative Socialist, one of that group which believed in a Socialist monarchy. Add to this the reports that National Liberals, Liberal Centrists, and Conservatives have been entrusted with the administration of departments under the Regency Council; that the opposition of the Independent Socialists has not sufficed to hinder the announcement of a Constituent Assembly for the near future rather than an assumption of power by the newly constituted Soviets of the Republic; that the influences of the old order—the church, the possessing classes, the military—are still doubtless active and strong; that the German people are highly educated and organized, and that *Gemuetlichkeit* is still as fundamental a characteristic as is the sense of discipline—and the conclusion is inevitable that the moderate forces are in the ascendency, and that if left to themselves the German people would be content with the present achievements.

On the other hand, the German people are no more masters of their own fate now than are any other of the Euro-

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pean peoples. The revolution let loose by the war has just begun. Who can tell how many decades it will last? Who knows whether bounds can be set to its spreading? It will not avail us much to operate with such terms as "anarchy." "War is in fact anarchy," Earl Grey has said truthfully. History is not a stranger to the law that he who soweth the wind shall reap the whirlwind. This greatest of wars must give birth to the greatest of world revolutions, and only those will be surprised who have looked upon the war in terms of national victory or defeat, punishments, annexations, and their own specific brands of democracy. It is not alone defeated Germany and Austria which are in the throes of revolution; there are rumblings in Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries; and who will tell us what is happening in Spain, and even in Italy, France, and England? But over all stands the Russia of the Soviets —the greatest spiritual force of Europe. It was Soviet Russia speaking at Brest-Litovsk that roused the workers of Germany and of Austria-Hungary to strike for peace last January, and it is the spirit of humanity, of brotherhood, of freedom which comes from Soviet Russia above the hunger and bloodshed and terror, that now seizes hold of the workers and the oppressed in all parts of the world.

If the moderate Ebert meets the fate of the moderate Kerensky, it is well to remember that he would not in all probability be succeeded at once by the German counterparts of the Russian Bolsheviki who are united in the Spartacus or International group. He would be succeeded by the less radical part of the Independent Socialist party represented by Haase and Dittmann in the present Council. The comic spirit of history must have presided when in the Chancellor's Palace of anti-Semitic Germany a Jew—a possible Chancellor—Haase, was seated. It was the same Haase who, on July 19, 1917, delivered a revolutionary speech in the Reichstag when the famous Majority Peace Resolution was passed. Haase had but little faith in the efficacy of that resolution to bring about peace. In this speech, which is a notable document, and which in America appeared in full only in the German Socialist daily, the *New Yorker Volkszeitung*, Haase demanded for Germany a Socialist Republic. It was the same Haase who in the name of the Independent Socialists presented a memorandum shortly before to the Dutch-Scandinavian Socialist Peace Committee at Stockholm. This memorandum demands, among other things, an international agreement for general disarmament, freedom of international trade as well as unrestricted international intercourse through migration, and international treaties to secure the workers against impoverishment. "National and social liberation cannot be achieved by the Governments at war. It can only be done by democracy. . . . Only if the International is erected, independent and powerful; if the proletariat lend its full force through keeping control over governments and maintaining peace—only then will there will come in the future a state of mutual confidence between the nations instead of an armaments contest."

At the outbreak of the war, the Socialist Party of Germany was for the most part under the hypnotic influence of the cry that Germany was being invaded and that the war was a war of defence. When the Kaiser invited the representatives of the Reichstag parties to give a pledge of loyalty to the Fatherland at that famous meeting in the royal castle, declaring, "I know no parties now. I know only Germans," it was Haase who placed his hand upon that of the Kaiser, as did the representative of each of the Reichstag parties. The first public break in the Socialist Party came when Liebnecht cast his lone vote against granting the second war credits to the Government. Although Liebnecht's vote was the first public demonstration of a lack of unity in the Socialist party and although the Independent Socialists as a group did not secede until some time later, yet from the very beginning of the war the pro-war attitude of the Socialist party had met with violent opposition within the party ranks. Those who opposed the pro-war policy of the party of Germany on any ground whatever became members of the International and Spartacus groups. Franz Mehring, one of the best authorities in Germany on Prussian history, and until the beginning of the war the foremost Socialist publicist in Germany, was from the very beginning in the International group. His opposition to the Independent Socialists was fully as vigorous as his opposition to those Socialists whom he called the "Dependents." "Too late," he said, "and only after long hesitation did they break away from the Government Socialists, and after having shared a long time in their sins."

The International and Spartacus groups seem from the very begining to have adopted the theories and the methods which were adopted by the Russian Bolsheviki from the first. The Independent Socialists by no means approved of the theories and the methods of the Bolsheviki, even after the latter had achieved power in Russia. Some of the best known Independent Socialist theoreticians, as for example, Kautsky and Bernstein, condemned the Bolsheviki on many points. Mehring addressed a letter last June to the Bolshevik organ, *Pravda*, in which he described the difficulties which his group had to bear at the hands not only of the Majority Socialists but of the Independent Socialists as well. He writes to the Russian Bolsheviki:

> We have been fighting now for four years under the most difficult conditions with the same methods and the same tactics, on the basis of the same principles which you have been employing and which finally crowned your endeavors with complete victory. . . . I am telling our Russian comrades and political friends that we are attached to them all by ties of passionate and most profound sympathy, and that we see in them, and not in the ghosts of the "old, oft-tried policy," the strongest champions of the new International, of that International which is formulated thus in our progress. The fatherland of the proletarians, the defence of which must push to the background everything else, is the Socialist Internationalist.

Just how far such views have made headway among the German people, or, what is of greater importance, among the returning troops, it is impossible to say. Barth, who seems to be the sixth man in the Regency Council or the Council of National Plenipotentiaries, is a representative of the Spartacus group. He is in all likelihood a young and new man. With the restoration of complete freedom of speech, press and assembly, the different parties are doubtless active in propaganda. Much will of course depend upon the attitude of the Entente and the United States. If they show a disposition to crush or interfere with revolutions in the name of international law and order, the Spartacus group in Germany will find it easier to sweep the field before them. Not Germany so much as Russia would seem to be the next acid test of the Western Powers. They have the right through the armistice terms to invade Russia and bring about "order." But bringing that kind of order into Russia may set the match to a Bolshevist explosion in Germany, and—who knows—in European countries west of Germany as well.

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The Bravest Man in Europe*

By S. ZIMAND

"*THE future belongs to the people.*" The time was October 24, 1918; the place, Berlin, the centre of Germany; the speaker, Doctor Karl Liebknecht. A remarkable change had indeed come over the Empire. As far as the eye could reach, a great shouting, surging crowd had gathered before the Reichstag buildings, a crowd such as might have foregathered in times past on almost any day of national festivity, to do honor to his Imperial Majesty, Kaiser Wilhelm. They were indeed shouting frantically on this occasion, but with other sentiments, shouting not for the Kaiser, but for abdication, while applauding frantically for another, a bitter foe of the Kaiser, a man who had been sent to jail for high treason, had been deprived of his seat in the Reichstag, had been dubbed, even by those in his own party, an enemy of his kind—Karl Liebknecht. On November 10, according to a dispatch from Copenhagen, Liebknecht issued the following announcement in Berlin in behalf of the Workmen's and Soldiers' Council: "The Presidency of the Police, as well as the chief command, is in our hands. Our comrades will be released." Two days later Berne dispatches reported that the bravest man in Europe had become Home Secretary in the new people's Government. The true patriotism of his deeds had been recognized by the authority of the people.

The events leading to that ovation of the twenty-fourth of October are of interest.

From the earliest days of its organization soon after the middle of the nineteenth century, the German Social Democracy had taken a stand against militarism. During the Franco-Prussian War, two of its chief representatives, Wilhelm Liebknecht (the father of Karl Liebknecht) and August Bebel, had refused to vote for the war budget. In 1912, during the Balkan crisis, the German Socialists had attended in force the great gathering of the International Socialist Conference at Basle, protesting in vigorous tones against the war, and many there were on that occasion who declared that even if danger of world war had not been entirely eliminated, the Social Democrats of Germany, the strongest of the International movement, were prepared to meet any emergency that might arise. In the Reichstag elections, these Social Democrats had cast four and a quarter millions of votes, while the labor unions, which in Germany worked hand in hand with the Social Democratic party, numbered no less than two and a half millions. The Socialist movement had the support of hundreds of newspapers, possessed a strong and well-disciplined organization and large financial resources, and was remarkably rich in political experience. In efficiency of organization it ranked second only to the Catholic Church.

It was true that the German Social Democrats as yet had gained little real influence on the international policy of the Empire, and despite their powerful organization and their influence, they were in a position before the war to exercise only moral pressure on the Government. Yet to many it seemed extremely unlikely that the German Government would dare instigate a world conflagration when opposed at home by this powerful "internal enemy."

The war came. Immediately after the declaration of war the Imperial Chancellor called a meeting of the Reichstag on August 5, 1914, for the purpose of approving the war budget. The day before this gathering was held, he called together the leaders of the various parties, so the story runs, among them the Social Democrats, and transmitted to them a confidential communication. He had from a reliable source, he declared, information that a secret understanding existed between the French and Belgian Governments whereby the latter Government had agreed that, in case of emergency, it would give the French army passage through Belgium for the purpose of invading Germany. It was because of this agreement, the Chancellor declared, that the neutrality of Belgium had to be violated. In addition to this information, the Chancellor told the assembled legislators that the Russian army had invaded German soil, and had even then overrun two of the Prussian provinces.

These statements produced the desired effect, convincing the majority of the Social Democratic leaders that their only course was to support the Kaiser and his Government. The Government knew how to deceive them, knew what to use in order to get their support, and the Kaiser and his Government were victorious.

Every cable message during those days that reached America from Germany emphasized the thought that there were no longer any parties in Germany, that the Social Democrats had decided to give up their agitation and work only for victory. To many radicals in America who had pinned their faith to the internationalism of the German Social Democracy, these reports seemed well-nigh unbelievable. The Socialist leaders must have been put in jail, some argued. Then came the German Socialist papers to confirm the reports; all contained the same unbelievable truth. Some said then, "Well, the Government has taken over their papers and that is how this news can be explained." But as one fact after another came out even the most doubtful had to admit that the cables had been based on truth. The strong and great structure built by a generation lay prostrate on the ground.

In those days of disillusion, I remember well a conversation among a few of us concerning the plight of the Social Democracy. "The German Government knew their Socialists well, and knew how best to reach them," declared one of our group. "There is one man in Germany, however, whom we shouldn't despair of even now. If he is still alive, I cannot but believe that he will soon raise his voice against the course pursued by the German Government and by his own party, and show the world that even in the land of utter darkness there still shines one light."

Liebknecht's record was open. For a score of years he had fought militarism tooth and nail. Could he now embrace it? Temporarily, it seemed that he had done so. He opposed the majority of his fellow-Socialists in the early days of August when they voted to support the war budget. But his efforts were unsuccessful. The majority decreed that the Social Democrats must support the war, and party discipline demanded that the minority abide by the decision of the majority. Party discipline was strong, at first too strong for Liebknecht. He yielded. Against his better judgment he voted, on August 5, for the budget. He voted, but he rebelled in spirit, and the next month, both at the home of a Socialist Alderman, F. M. Wibaut, of Amsterdam, and at the residence of Lieutenant Henry DeMan, in

*Introduction to "The Future Belongs to the People," being the record of Liebknecht's activities and addresses from the outbreak of the war to the present time, to be published by the Macmillan Company on November 25.

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Brussels, he declared that he could not himself understand what had possessed him when he gave his vote in the Reichstag to the war budget.

He soon extricated himself from his position, however, and the noble spirit of courage which he afterwards displayed has but few precedents in modern history. With courage and idealism unsurpassed, he fought in the face of obstacles seemingly insuperable.

Liebknecht had many opportunities for making himself heard. He was a Deputy of the Reichstag from Potsdam-Osthavelland, an assemblyman in the Prussian *Landtag* from Berlin, and Councilman in the *Stadtverordneten* of Berlin. Within and without these assemblies he used his pen and his voice alike. It was in the Prussian Assembly, where from the very beginning he had four companions who shared his point of view, that he delivered his longer addresses.

His tactics in the Reichstag, where for some time he stood almost alone, were somewhat different. Here, instead of delivering speeches, he used the question with telling effect as a means of bringing out the truth on his side and of showing the emptiness of his opponents' claims. The Government resorted to every conceivable means to silence him, but without success. Failing, they called him to military service, and put him in the uniform of a German soldier. This act put a temporary end to his outside public addresses, but he could still deliver his scathing indictments in the Reichstag and in the Prussian Assembly.

On May 1, 1916, he appeared at a public gathering in Berlin in civilian dress, and delivered the speech which sent him to jail. Why did he deliver that May Day address? Why did he not continue to reach the public over the heads of the legislators from his seats in the two Parliaments? It is indeed possible that he thought that the moment for the Revolution had struck. For it is an address of revolution, and seemed calculated to bring about an uprising of the workers. Perhaps he was under the impression that his audiences and the terrible pressure outside Germany had sufficiently awakened the German people, and that they needed but a word to bring them into action. Whatever the reason, the speech was a magnificent one; it required a courage which only a Liebknecht possessed.

When Ralph Waldo Emerson visited Henry Thoreau in his prison cell and asked, "What are you doing here, Henry?" Thoreau replied, "What are you doing outside when all people with ideals are inside?" That sentence well describes the Germany of yesterday. Liebknecht was in prison, but even in his lonesome cell he still inspired the "gathering hosts and helped to make men free."

Contributors to this Issue

OBSERVER is a student of labor movements and international politics whose discussions of European problems in a series of letters to the New York *Evening Post* during the past year have attracted wide and favorable attention.

S. ZIMAND, who is now connected with the economic division of the New York Public Library, studied in Germany and France before the war, and was a personal friend of Karl Liebknecht. He has already brought out "Militarism" (Huebsch), a translation of an earlier work of Liebknecht's.

In the Driftway

IT is hard to think of the Senate without J. "Ham" Lewis, his vests, his luxurious whiskers, and his itch for publicity. His retirement to private life is beyond question a blow to the funny men of our press. Yet Mr. Lewis has his strong points and The Drifter cannot forget with what ability he acted, at intervals, as substitute chairman of the Baltimore Convention which nominated Mr. Wilson in 1913. No more difficult gathering to control could be imagined. Yet Mr. Lewis did it well, and his voice filled the cavern-like armory with ease. As for his successful rival, Mr. Medill McCormick, Chicago has never taken him over-seriously. He has, however, grown greatly in stature, has passed through a period of instability and settled down. He came back from France a year ago much sobered by what he beheld of the war and what he saw under its surface. It may well be that he will prove of marked usefulness in the era of reconstruction. Incidentally, he is one of the first of the ardent Rooseveltian Progressives of 1913 to reach a high office in the Republican party. The Progressives! They are now so dead that it will soon be necessary to explain what they were when one uses the name. We have the amusing spectacle of Taft and Roosevelt hail fellow well met once more. This situation recalls the days when they abused each other and reminds us how easily friendships are made and unmade—in politics.

* * * * *

THE late Mrs. Sage was a kind and gentle but not overforceful personality. Hers was an extraordinary life. During her husband's lifetime she was repressed in every direction, and even when he was rolling in wealth she was without adequate money for herself, much less to give away. The penuriousness of Mr. Sage is well known. In the days when it cost ten cents to ride on the elevated railroad before five o'clock in the afternoon, he would frequently be seen standing in line with office boys and charwomen who were awaiting the striking of the clock which enabled them to travel for five cents. When he died there was a broken window in the first story of his house on Fifth Avenue which had not been mended for weeks. On his death Mrs. Sage found herself possessed of enormous wealth with only a few remaining years in which to dispose of it. That she gave away twenty-five millions before her death is remarkable indeed. She was from the very beginning overrun with beggars, and with appeals from every part of the country. The chief duty of those about her was to protect her from the thousands who implored her aid, and to sort out her enormous mail—a thankless task for all who did it, since those who failed to win her largesse were convinced that the secretaries or the legal adviser were responsible for their inability to get what they asked. It was a fortunate thing that she had Mr. Robert W. de Forest to turn to, and one sees his hand clearly in the bequests she has now made. While we know now that Mrs. Sage left about seventy-five millions, we are still ignorant of the fortune of that other woman of enormous wealth who lived to a great age, Hetty Green. The device by which she kept up her Vermont citizenship while living in a forty-dollar-a-month flat in Jersey City enabled her estate to escape the publicity which is compelled where there are inheritance taxes.

THE DRIFTER

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Peace

By CARL H. GRABO

Peace comes at last, and twice five million men,
Who hated war and died that this might be,
Sleep, heedless of the shouts of victory
As of the discords of the cannon when
The agony ebbed with their life's blood; then
Smiled they, welcoming their souls' release.
God be with them, who know enduring peace,
And shut the world they died for from their ken.

Peace comes; men talk of conquest, party, trade;
The world-old selfishness, the petty ways
Of life return; forgetful of all loss,
Forgetful of the gift they gladly made
Who yielded up the blossom of their days,
Men see not bleeding Christ upon his cross.

Correspondence

A Biography of President Cleveland

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I should be grateful if friends of Mr. Cleveland who possess published addresses or other critical comment of historical value concerning his policies or character, or letters to or from him, or personal recollections of incidents connected with his life, which would be of interest in the preparation of a biography, would communicate as soon as practicable with Mr. William Gorham Rice, of Albany. Any such comment, letters, and accounts of incidents will be acknowledged and will be carefully returned if the sender so desires. The assembled letters, comment, publications, and records, now proposed to be brought together, will be deposited ultimately in the State Library at Albany for the use of Dr. John H. Finley, who some time ago invited Mr. Rice to collaborate with him in preparing a definitive and documented biography of Mr. Cleveland. The collection thus deposited will also be of permanent value because of its accessibility to any one who in the future may desire to obtain for historical or other purposes knowledge of Mr. Cleveland's traits, and his opinions and administrative record on public questions. FRANCES F. CLEVELAND PRESTON

New York, October 23

University Autocracy

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: The unsophisticated reader of your editorial, "Woodrow Wilson, Politician," will finish it with a feeling of bewilderment. "What!" he will exclaim, "are autocratic aloofness and secrecy such venial offenses that we may expect them to slough off over night? Is a 'cold, self-centred, and calculating' politician who, with his 'handful of unofficial advisers,' 'absolutely controls' the Democratic party and insists that 'his own uncontrolled will shall now prevail'; who, in what he did that was good, 'possibly builded better than he knew'—is such a man, even though many think him 'more than a man,' likely to make such speedy amends that 'his mistakes as a politician will be forgiven and forgotten'?"

When Mr. Wilson first aspired to National honors he came into unpleasant contact with the late editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, who summed up in the one word "schoolmaster" all the qualities which in his judgment a President of the Republic should not have. In assuming that the schoolmaster, dealing as he must in a paternal and autocratic way with immature minds, is ill suited to an environment demanding constant give and take with intellects of equal or superior calibre, Colonel Watterson was astute enough; but his jibe would have struck nearer home had he named, instead of "schoolmaster," the more autocratic species commonly called the American university president.

"Even in a palace life may be led well," said Marcus Aurelius, and we eagerly extend the possibility to the office of a university president. But the odds are against it. For the typical American university president is to-day, within his jurisdiction, the most unlimited despot on earth. He derives his unjust powers from a board of trustees too indolent, incompetent, or busy to do more than confirm his action, often after the event; he exercises those powers on a faculty and a student body whose privilege is to debate and acquiesce. His duties are multifarious, ranging from the loftiest elaboration of educational theory to the pettiest detail of campus routine. He is concerned with the getting of money and the spending of it; he hires the professor and the janitor, and he "fires" them. To the student he aspires to be guide, philosopher, and friend; to the faculty, the embodiment of the executive virtues which they lack; to the alumnus, a glorified foot-ball rooter; to the legislature, a canny but honest politician; to the public at large, a commencement orator who brings the final "glitteralities" on educational and civic ideals. In the exercise of such varied talents it is inevitable that he should become arbitrary, superficial, and opportunistic.

Now imagine our typical American university president in the White House. For the board of trustees substitute the American people (or part of them); for the janitor—but we forbear. If the unsophisticated reader cannot yet answer the questions that bewildered him, let him not vex his poor head any more; since the whole matter may easily be disposed of as "merely academic." R. D. MILLER

Fallston, Md., November 6

Interchangeable Instruments

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: It has been my lot, during the past few weeks, to look on at the process of changing a newspaper composing-room from the estate of an open shop to that of a closed one. In the course of conversation with friends of the new régime, I have been constantly assured that while, in some respects, the policies of labor unions have been guided starkly by self-interest, yet, on the whole, their methods make for efficiency; that even uniform high wages and strictly limited output in some mysterious way are economical in the long run. Now there is—though many readers of the daily press may doubt it—an unconsidered annex to the composing-room called, doubtless in derision, the proofroom. As a matter of fact it has very little to do with the mechanical department and might better be placed under the control of the managing editor—which, by the way, is not my original idea, but has been voiced again and again, timidly, perhaps, but audibly. In this nondescript department I have always been interested, and I ventured to ask a union friend what difference, if any, the change would make in its constitution. He replied that the chief difference arose from the fact that the union does not recognize copy-holders. All members of the proofroom force in a union shop are proofreaders, who take turn and turn in acting as copy-holders. This sounded to me a little as if the Musicians' Union were to insist that the first violin take turn and turn with the bass drum. The art of the copy-holder and that of the proofreader are as different as chalk's from cheese, that of the copy-holder being chiefly to read difficult copy accurately, that of the proofreader to detect errors, typographical and other. Therefore I asked my patient friend how on earth setting a good proofreader to holding copy badly made for efficiency. He said he didn't exactly know, but that it undoubtedly did. Still I am unconvinced, and, knowing that the *Nation* is read by all sorts and conditions of men, I write to you, sir, in hope that some authority on union affairs may come forward and throw some light on this vexed question. I know, of course, that, your own shop being unionized, you may not be anxious to open your columns to a heretical screed like the present. But I have sufficient confidence in your broad-mindedness to feel that, if any periodical will come to my rescue, you will. I had another question to put to you; it is about that sublimated union, the College of Cardinals, but by all means, one thing at a time. I sign myself, S. C. A. B.

New York, October 28

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A Lost River

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: The Parisian poet, M. Robert Lestrange, in a letter written from his country home at Seignelay, in the Yonne, makes this rather curious statement: "While engaged recently on some researches into the past history of this little town, I made a discovery which, at the present moment, is not without interest. In 1670, the Minister of Marine, Colbert, who was son of the great Colbert, and who had taken his title of Marquis from this place, sent out colonists to Cayenne and Louisiana. In order to show him their gratitude, the Louisiana settlers gave the name of Seignelay to one of the principal rivers of the region, a river which, it is stated, crosses Illinois and then empties into the Mississippi. I am curious to know whether this stream still bears the name of my native city."

Theodore Stanton

Paris, September 1

The Yiddish Reader

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Perhaps the one-sidedness of Yiddish books and their readers may be explained by the fact that these books and their readers have hardly had an opportunity to become all-sided. Modern Yiddish is only about thirty-five years old. As recently as twenty years ago, it was by the orthodox Jews considered a sin to read a Yiddish story or novel (and there were at that time very few books, original or translated, in Yiddish).

The Jewish masses, especially those in Russia, Poland, and Galicia, were in fact no readers until the organization of the "Bund." This was the first Jewish Socialist labor body in those countries and it is largely responsible for the early education of the Jewish workers. As their education has been conducted by a materialistic Socialist organization, it is but natural that among these people a realistic literature should predominate. Considering these facts, however, who will not agree that rapid progress has been made? H. J. Rubenstein

Paterson, N. J., November 2

What the President Said

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: The third of Mr. Wilson's fourteen points, as everyone ought to know by now, reads as follows:

"The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of economic trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance."

Of this third point Mr. Roosevelt, writing in the *Kansas City Star* for October 30, says:

"The third point promises free trade among all the nations, unless the words are designedly used to conceal President Wilson's true meaning. This would deny to our country the right to make a tariff to protect its citizens, and especially its workingmen, against Germany or China or any other country."

How such an inference can be drawn from the President's statement it is difficult to see. The President did not use the word free trade; and the emphasis is clearly not on free trade but upon equality of trade conditions, and that only among the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance. To make it perfectly clear that this was the meaning, the President issued a statement, which was published in all the papers on October 29, in which he said:

"I, of course, meant to suggest no restrictions upon the free determination by any nation of its own economic policy, but only that, whatever tariff any nation might deem necessary for its own economic service, be that tariff high or low, it should apply equally to all foreign nations; in other words, that there should be no discriminations against some nations that did not apply to others."

Is Mr. Roosevelt employing words "designedly used to conceal" his true intent? Or is he only guilty of that "looseness of thought" with which he so frequently charges every one who disagrees with him? It is possible, very likely indeed, that when he wrote his letter to the *Kansas City Star* he had not seen the President's statement of October 29. Having now seen it, it will be interesting to note whether he will be honest enough to correct his original statement. Not that any humane person would wish to impose upon Mr. Roosevelt the heavy burden of correcting all of the inaccurate statements and false inferences with which his speeches and writings have been filled during the last—well, let us say six weeks.

Carl Becker

Cornell University, November 1

A Gibraltar Tunnel

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Students of international politics should be interested in M. Bressler's project for a submarine tube under the channel of Gibraltar, for the purpose of connecting Europe and Africa by railway. In an article on this subject in the Paris *Excelsior* of July 11, M. Chabanier states that the railway company of Orleans has applied to the French Minister of Public Works for the concession for building the Paris-Dakar railway via Gibraltar. If this tremendous project should be realised, it would be possible to go from Peking and Petrograd to Morocco and Senegal by railway. One could go from Brussels to the Congo in five days; from Paris to Senegal in three; from London to the Transvaal in seven. M. Chabanier declares that the construction of this undersea tunnel, and the opening of a tunnel under the English Channel would constitute *l'oeuvre la plus rédoutable qui puisse être opposée aux visées de l'accaparement de l'Allemagne.*

Dakar is the African port nearest to South America; while at present the time from Cadiz to Buenos Aires is two weeks, this would cut it to one week. The importance of this time saving in trade between Europe and South America would be enormous.

The tunnel cannot be built, of course, without the consent of Spain. And who will do it—France, Spain, the League of Nations?

The Spanish Minister of Public Works, Señor Cambó, a man of astonishing energy and persistency, has already ordered a thorough study of M. Bressler's project to be made.

The Catalan Gay de Montellá, writing in *La Revista*, urges the Spanish Government to build the tunnel. The new Spain of 1918—very different from that of 1898—has both brains and capital equal to the undertaking. Spanish writers urge that the tunnel should run from the Spanish coast to Ceuta—the shortest way—to connect with the Tangier-Fez railway. The French want it to go to Tangier, an international port, as Ceuta is a harbor belonging to Spain.

There are thorny possibilities of international trouble in this plan. Unless the straits of Panama, Suez, and the Dardanelles are neutralized, Spain will oppose to the utmost the internationalization of this proposed tunnel. The League of Nations is becoming more and more necessary, and the internationalization of all gateways is imperative. J. B. Alemany

Schenectady, New York, October 25

A Dark World

To the Editor of the Nation:

Sir: Is the world really so black as the *Nation* paints it? I know that Mr. Burleson isn't perfect, that Mr. Creel is a bit unreliable, that Mr. Gompers isn't Mr. Henderson, that Senator Lodge is unenlightened, that Mr. Roosevelt lacks the judicial temper, that security leagues and councils of safety are often blatant and myopic, that Republicans are protectionists and protectionists not always unselfish, that Negroes are discriminated against on account of race, color, and previous condition of servitude, that judges impose excessive sentences, that conscientious objectors are subjected to indignities, that personal liberty is annoyingly curtailed, that war provokes passion, and I think with the *Nation* that it would be better if it were otherwise. But after all is it so bad as you make it out? What are the objections to amiability and a sense of proportion?

T. R. Powell

New York, November 10

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BOOKS

A Sculptor's Correspondence

Thomas Woolner, R.A. His Life in Letters. By Amy Woolner. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company. $6 net.

THIS is an interesting book, despite its author. Miss Amy Woolner, Woolner's daughter, may call it a Life in Letters, but her title is too ambitious. It is in no sense a life at all. She does not attempt to edit the letters. Her few statements or comments are unilluminating. It is a pity, for the material was rich had she known how to use it. Woolner was one of the original Pre-Raphaelites, the only sculptor of the group. He went to Australia in the fifties to dig for gold. He was all his life associated with distinguished people, often with important movements. But of Woolner, the man, much more of what we want to hear can be learned from the voluminous Pre-Raphaelite literature. Of Woolner the sculptor little is said, which is perhaps as well. He was industrious, prolific, successful, comfortably self-confident. Men sat to him whose names alone would have made his known. He was elected to the Royal Academy at a time when Academicians commanded high prices and grew rich. But his work shares the fate of many Victorian masterpieces and is mostly forgotten. Of Woolner the adventurer seeking gold, the story is in a not too exciting journal, and the journal is included in the volume. Of Woolner the correspondent, the record is more satisfactory, not only in the letters he wrote, but in the letters he received. Upon these the interest of the book depends.

Some of the earliest came from Rossetti, written in 1853–54, while Woolner was in Australia. They are delightful, full of intimate little touches and glimpses of the Brotherhood in their first gay enthusiasm. Now it is Holman Hunt who figures, "jollier than ever, with a laugh which answers one's own like a grotto full of reëchoes," a very different Holman Hunt from the solemn prophet we remember or, indeed, from the Holman Hunt talking with Palgrave, "dreary semi-archaic conjectural lore and Gospel evidence," according to a Woolner letter written only six years after Rossetti's. Now it is Millais, already, in 1854, "conquering and to conquer," already with pinions grown till "he takes even the great Ruskin under them as a poor, well-meaning fellow who must not quite be bullied down." Or else it is Madox Brown, shut up in his Hampstead house, laboring over "a small modern picture about emigration"—his Last of England, the subject suggested at Gravesend when he was seeing Woolner off for Australia. Or it is Walter Deverell struggling unsuccessfully with death, his "the happiest face when our circle sat together, and the first gone that may not return." Or it is Rossetti himself, the good fellow throughout, altogether human, gay, slangy, the excellent man of business every Pre-Raphaelite was, as little like the popular idea of him as possible, ready to speak irreverently of those pictures which have proved inexhaustible texts for the sermons of his disciples. He ceased to write at any length after Woolner's return to England in 1854. For a while their relations were rather strained. But all the Pre-Raphaelites were drifting further and further apart, and Woolner's last official association with them was in the now famous Moxon edition of Tennyson, "enchanted ground," he calls it, which Rossetti, Millais, and Holman Hunt alone he thinks worthy to tread, though they thought him worthy, too, and his portrait of Tennyson was reproduced as frontispiece. The references to the book, which is a landmark in the history of English illustration, are many and of interest.

Still more interesting are the references to Ruskin, curious sidelights on the real estimate in which he was held at a time when few artists dared speak aloud the opinion they might whisper in letters and intimate talk. Woolner began by admiring, as he shows in his journal of the journey home from Australia, during which he read "Modern Painters." But Rossetti, already in 1853, could write to Woolner of Ruskin as one "only half-informed about Art." Not much later Rossetti was forced to admit that Ruskin was the best friend he ever found out of his own family, but this was for personal reasons. Woolner, however, had nothing to be grateful for, and he forgot to admire in his indignation over Ruskin's "cutting up" of Holman Hunt's Scapegoat and praise of some of the worst pictures that were with it in the Academy of 1856. To Mrs.—not yet Lady—Tennyson he wrote:

> He has made such an obvious mess of it this year that his enemies are dancing for delight. I should like Ruskin to know what he never knew—the want of money for a year or two; when he might come to doubt his infallibility and give the artist working on the right road the benefit of any little doubt that might arise. The little despot imagines himself the Pope of Art and would wear three crowns as a right, only they would make him look funny in London.

To the same correspondent, Woolner sent amusing reports of visits to the Carlyles during which Ruskin appeared or was the subject of conversation. Carlyle once described Ruskin, supposed to be his friend, as "a bottle of beautiful *soda-water*," and he was no less plain-spoken to Woolner, expressing his "profound contempt" for the little "Art Deity" in the course of one visit, while of another Woolner writes:

> Ruskin came in while I was there and commenced a buzz of inflated rapture upon a piece of charlatanry called "Victory," by Marochetti, now being shown at Apsley House . . . but we certainly gave that conceited creature something to reflect upon. When he was gone we both agreed that a man who took Marochetti as his ideal sculptor, Louis Napoleon as his favorite king and politician, and Spurgeon for his beloved theologian, was certainly an unsafe guide for women and the youths of England; for beside these his trusting admirers are few.

Mrs. Carlyle adds her laugh in the next report, telling of a dinner where she sat by Ruskin, who confided to her his choice of Richmond, the draughtsman, in the competition for the Melbourne Shakespeare statue. Woolner's comment is:

> This is quite serious and not the least in joke on his part. I merely give it to you as an instance of the flimsiness and folly to which a man's mind may arrive, when he lives fattening upon the adulation of ladies and weak young men, chiefly landscape painters.

There is much else on many subjects that could be quoted from this eminently quotable book. A few letters from Carlyle and Mrs. Carlyle are characteristic. Woolner was on the most intimate and friendly terms with the Tennysons, and the correspondence with Mrs. Tennyson is long and constant on both sides. William Allingham, Edward Lear, Coventry Patmore, Francis Palgrave, John Frederick Lewis, and W. B. Scott, were among friends to whom he wrote and who wrote to him. W. B. Scott on Titian and Veronese as "pompous coves" is distinctly entertaining, and there is pathos

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in Lewis's prayer, that God may guide the men who would have the spending of Chantrey's bequest, when one considers how that money has been squandered. Commissions for statues and busts led to other friendships and other letters —ponderously amiable from Gladstone, graciously amiable from Browning, inquiringly amiable from Darwin, who, having been struck by Woolner's discovery of the tendency to the little pointed tip in the human ear, writes to ask if the artist, in the cause of science, will tell him "how far down the blush extends." Froude wrote occasionally, also Edward Fitzgerald. Indeed, to few men of his generation did the postman's double knock mean greater treasures of correspondence to hand down to posterity. And so, though by no stretch of imagination can Woolner's own letters be ranked with many he received, though their chief merit is in the literary and artistic gossip they record, he will probably be remembered in his correspondence, if he is forgotten in his art.

An Ancient Gold Treasure

A Gold Treasure of the Late Roman Period. By Walter Dennison. University of Michigan Studies. New York: The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THE period of late Roman art with its transition into Byzantine art is one that still requires much study. It is a period still harking back to classical traditions, but coming more and more strongly under new influences. In every branch of art this commingling of old and new conceptions is evident, until from this combination a new homogeneous style is finally evolved.

Mr. Walter Dennison's publication of a gold treasure of the late Roman period found in Egypt is a welcome and valuable contribution to our knowledge of this epoch. The copious and excellent illustrations, and the full descriptions of the treasure enable the reader to study every piece in detail and to form an accurate estimate of the whole. The "treasure" has not been kept together, and it is moreover uncertain whether the pieces all came from the same tomb. They were dug up in Egypt by Arab peasants at different times in a secretive manner, and sold by them to an antiquarian in Cairo. The peasants under such circumstances naturally evade searching questions as to provenance, though they like to enhance the value of their finds by giving out that they all formed part of an important treasure. From their style, however, most of the objects can be placed in approximately the same period, that is, the third to sixth centuries A. D.; though a few are of earlier date.

The treasure includes in all thirty-six objects, scattered now in the Freer collection in Detroit, in the Metropolitan Museum, the British Museum, and the Berlin Antiquarium. The publication of the material in a single monograph has been made possible by the generous support of Mr. Freer, Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Jr., and Mr. William H. Murphy. In studying the necklaces, bracelets, earrings, breast chains, and medallions which make up this treasure we are struck with their richness and splendor. Stones of vivid color are combined profusely with gold in heavy barbaric designs, which can be enjoyed more for their general effectiveness at a distance than for their workmanship at close range. The love of craft of the Greeks, their insistence on beauty of form and perfection of detail, has been forgotten in a craving for crude splendor. Instead, therefore, of the beautiful modelling and the delicate granulated and filigree work for which Greek jewelry is distinguished, we find in these late Roman ornaments chiefly inlay and openwork, and the introduction of gold medals, coins, and precious stones, which could be worked quickly, coarsely, and yet effectively.

Mr. Dennison has not taken this opportunity to give us a critical history of late Roman jewelry. He has contented himself with contributing fresh material to our common stock. Though in his description of the objects he refers helpfully to similar examples in other museums, such comparative study is not done so exhaustively as it might have been. But for his clear and interesting presentation of material of a not too familiar epoch every scholar will be grateful.

Japan at First Hand.

Japan at First Hand. By Joseph I. C. Clarke. Dodd, Mead & Co. $2.50.

The Development of Japan. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. The Macmillan Company. $1.50.

THE well known New York playright and journalist, Joseph I. C. Clarke, after reading tons of books and periodicals about Japan and the Japanese, resolved to follow the method of Franklin and Agassiz. He would see for himself nature and man in the Princess Country. Between the "moonlight style" of the impressionist Lafcadio Hearn—who could not read a line in a serious Japanese text—and the learned, if equally subjective, and pragmatic Chamberlain in his "Things Japanese," Mr. Clarke proposed to walk and talk as his own appraiser. He would find out how and why it was that "the more Japan changes, the more it remains the same."

So into the country of Fuji and flowers, of fleas and malodors, of things revoltingly ugly and entrancingly beautiful, and of fine manners everywhere except in railway cars, our author went. Right honestly and industriously he sought to find what sort of people the Japanese are. He looked, not through a prism, but in good white sunlight. Mr. Clarke appreciated what has taken place in the background and perspective of the centuries, as well as what greets the trained eye of the observer of to-day. He found no "Asiatic mystery," but a strain of humanity rich in reserves of power. While the people were winsome in manners, habits, and mental outlook, he discovered enough human nature in them to feel anew that the whole world, including Nippon, was closely kin. In his book we have twenty-one chapters, in very readable form, giving the results of his peering, questioning, and reflection upon the obvious and visible. He makes no pretense of learning, nor did he have more than brief glimpses of Japan's rigidly secluded family life. He went over to Korea and, like even more serious and profound students of the situation, justly characterizes what the Japanese have done as materially "a model of colonial uplift." With wit and merriment, he pictures that amazing anachronism—the elderly Korean in the old white costume, with long pipe, broad-brimmed hat and horsehair net, enclosing a cranium full of obsolete ideas. After seeing the palaces and antiquities of Seoul, he rode into Manchuria, roamed over the battlefields, and visited Peking. He pictures the heyday of Yuan Shi-Kai, glances at the politics of to-day, and closes with a statistical chapter and a good index. Altogether, this is one of the brightest, as it is among the most accurate and informing books on Japan of to-day.

Professor Latourette's book admirably supplements that of Mr. Clarke and may prove to be the more permanent volume. In spite of actual vision, the first author saw, even at first hand, but the surface of things in the phenomenal Japan of to-day. The second writer is more philosophical, scholarly, reflective and erudite. He pictures in clear, strong language not only the Japan of this age, but earlier ages. He has used only first-class authorities, witnesses mostly, and he has the ability to check and control their testimony; hence his firm touch. He shows us the development of a people of innate power and of unquenchable spirit, with reserves still unexhausted. Within reasonable compass we have the history of the nation, before the arrival of the Fillmore-Perry peaceful armada, told in rapid and illuminating style. Four chapters are devoted to the new resultants of forces, ancient and modern, native and foreign. Mr. Latourette shows how and why Japan has become a world power and is likely to hold her place. The nation's modern enlargement, when seen in a true perspective, is as natural as the opening of a flower, when inherent forces combine with favorable environment. Few authors are quoted in the text, but every page shows thorough digestion of the abundant materials assembled. In such a work, perhaps, we should look for more light on the interior intellectual forces, such as the philosophy taught that made the mind of the nation's leaders ready for change. Buddhism is, however, ably set forth. This book is one of the first fruits of the course of study of Oriental affairs, which has been established at Yale University, and of which the son of the author of a classic, "The Middle Kingdom," is director. Professor Latourette's book will serve better as a class room text book than any work on Japan that has yet been produced.

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In Various Worlds

Can Such Things Be? By Ambrose Bierce. New York: Boni & Liveright.
The Garden of Survival. By Algernon Blackwood. New York: E. P. Dutton & Company.
The Watcher by the Threshold. By John Buchan. New York: George H. Doran Company.
The Red One. By Jack London. New York: The Macmillan Company.
The Eyes of Asia. By Rudyard Kipling. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company.
Children of the Dear Cotswolds. By L. Allen Harker. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

TO the collected writings of Ambrose Bierce is added another group of tales in his accustomed vein. It is an odd thing that nobody knows whether this man whose fancy, through a long lifetime, was never far from death, has himself met death or not. His work as a writer is based upon a strong sense of death as the sinister enemy of man, equipped with horror, and leading him into a darkness that teems with inquietude. In the present series of tales, which very well represent him, Bierce is too monotonously concerned with the trivialities of death. Once at least, in "A Baby Tramp," his grim eye warms to tenderness at the spectacle of the child who, rejected by the world, is sent by fate to die on his unknown mother's grave. Once, in "John Bartine's Watch," he employs the theme of reincarnation or survival which has been so much played upon of late—as in "The Ghost Garden" of Amélie Rives, "The Ghost Girl," by H. DeVere Stacpoole, and the stories of Algernon Blackwood, *passim*. In "The Garden of Survival," Mr. Blackwood has little in common with Bierce. He thinks of death as a transitional form of life, a bridge across which, from time to time, man is fated to pass, on the whole to his advantage. Bierce's story of "John Bartine's Watch" represents a mortal condemned to return to the flesh and there to suffer once more, without hope of escape, the terror of a violent death. He lives to die; Mr. Blackwood's people die to live. In "The Garden of Survival" are brought together once more a pair whose relation in an earlier existence on earth has been imperfect. The woman has lured the man to a union not rising above physical passion. The bold siren of the past now lives in the person of a delicate girl whose gracious charm almost conceals her inner grossness. Upon their marriage she repudiates what has brought them together, and dies shortly thereafter. Work absorbs the man, he seems to have forgotten her with the years; and yet by degrees an influence has begun to sway him which he comes to identify with her presence rather than her memory. So grows up between them a real and new bond, which steadily brings their spirits together without the painful waiting for a fresh reembodiment and a fresh coincidence of meeting on the same physical plane.

John Buchan's sense of the supernatural is a long way from this sort of mystical meliorism, as well as from the death cult of Bierce. It is the Celtic sense of a world not yet clear from physical presences out of another world. But it is not the simple, vague, half-fearful faith of the peasant in leprechauns and "little people" who dwell in a misty region that may not safely be explored by humankind. Behind the haunted country gentleman of "The Watcher by the Threshold" is the shadowy tradition of the Roman Justinian who, with all his wisdom, was the Devil's own. Ladlaw's possession by the Devil is in part an effect of place. For his moorland dwelling is in a land of ill omen, not far remote, it seems, from "the dank tarn of Auber, the ghoul-haunted woodland of Weir." Here takes place a strange drama, at the end of which the Devil (a very real person to us by that time) passes out of Ladlaw, by way of the body of a dull young parson, and disappears for the time being. The most striking and haunting tale of the series is "No-man's-Land," which has nothing to do with the war, but pictures a strange and terrible survival in a hidden district of the Scottish Highlands. The discovery is methodically led up to, by way of historical record and legends set down in print from time to time, during the past two centuries, so that it appears quite plausible when it comes. In this one Highland region strange things have been happening for centuries, the maiming of cattle by some skilled hand, the abduction of girl children, the unexplained murder or disappearance of lonely cottars. Hither comes in our own time a university scholar learned in the history of the Northern peoples. He lodges with a shepherd whose sheep are being carried off or mutilated nightly by he knows not whom. But not far from his shieling looms an uncanny fastness of the mountains, called "the Scarts o' the Muneraw," shunned by all hillsmen for generations. The scholar goes where the shepherd dares not, is captured by a naked beastly-human race, the remnant of the ancient Picts; he lives to see their destruction by decree of nature, to tell his tale, to be scouted by all the world, and to die distraught. These stories are told with a skill quite beyond anything that mere "workmanship," the clever manipulation of materials, can attain. They are strongly *felt*, creations of atmosphere and mood rather than idea or plot.

The late Jack London and the later Kipling have dealt on occasion with the "shadow world." More habitually they have relied on the contrast between the humdrum and the exotic; as they do in the two groups of stories now collected. A white man among the head-hunting islanders of the South Seas, or among the fevers and revolutions and hidden treasures of Ecuador, or among the tropical princesses still bred so lavishly for the uses of fiction, London's fancy tarried to the last. Mr. Kipling, at all events, has not cared to go imitating his own "Plain Tales." During the war his "output" has been smaller than ever. Here are four letters written home from the Western Front by soldiers from India, a Rajput, a Sikh, an Afghan, a Mussulman. These soldiers of India find in France and England, in their social freedom, their skill in agriculture, their educated efficiency for both sexes, much to think of if not to imitate. But all through them runs the whimsical thread of difference, as in the preoccupation of the son of the Afghan border, intrenched in France, with the little feud of his family at home. Readers in the mood for escape from horrors, whether of fact or fancy, may turn with confidence to "Children of the Dear Cotswolds"—stories that take us, under Mrs. Harker's pleasant guidance, into the comfortable world of yesterday, among the warm-hearted, plain-mannered folk of her beloved Cotswolds.

Korean Buddhism

Korean Buddhism. By Frederick Starr. Boston: Marshall Jones Company. $2.

QUITE apart from its great value in archæology and the history of religions, this little book, unique in both the Korean and the Buddhist library, reveals a force in the modern world, with which Japan and possibly other Powers may yet have to reckon. A revival of the greatest unifying force among Asiatic nations is not impossible. The surprises in history are often great, and the first of universal religions may even yet furnish an example. The peoples of the mother-continent differ far more among themselves, in ancestry, language, character and temperament, aims and hopes, than do those of Europe. Yet no known element of unity similar or equal to that of Buddhism, previous to the last century, has ever been known among them. Profound and personally verified knowledge of this fact furnished to the late Okakura Kakuzo, the great artist, art student, traveller and critic, his life-theme. In his "Ideals of the East," he has enlarged upon this subject. For Japan, the Buddhism of Korea, utterly disintegrated during five centuries, but now reviving and unifying, when in harmony with the Tokio Government may be a mighty power for good; but, if hostile, tremendous for evil. Japan cannot afford to add an Ireland to her burdens.

Students of Korean history have eagerly awaited some such revelation as this book contains; for, as Cyprus was the middle term in culture between Egypt and Greece, so has Korea served as the medium between China and Japan. No such product as Japanese civilization could be imagined, even after ages of evolution, apart from the peninsular kingdom. While the debt of the æsthetic islanders to the ethical civilization of China is immense, it is hardly less to the Korea which antedates A. D. 1392; at which point in history began the dynasty which was extinguished in 1912, Japan's debt to modern Korea is slight.

It is to Korean Buddhism, both as direct bestower and as purveyor of China, that Japan owes almost everything which during well nigh a millenium, has replaced the primitive insular simplicity of life; in which, among other arts, that of doing without things was the chief one cultivated. From A. D. 552 to 1598, the

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stream of missionaries and teachers, artists, scholars, and artisans never ceased.

Buddhism, brought from India, Tibet, and China, was introduced into the peninsula during the fourth century; and quite possibly, as the sculpture and paintings, now for the first time revealed by Dr. Starr show, men of more than one race and color were the pioneer missionaries. Yet—and herein lies still the riddle to be read, of which scholars eagerly await the solution—how, when and why did this peninsular Buddhism change its type and spirit? For, the Korean Buddha, honored for a thousand years, is not the historical Shaka, or Sakyamuni, but Amida, an academic creation; or possibly, an idea borrowed, as not a few scholars think, from Christian sources. Dr. Starr does not touch this problem, the solution of which would throw a flood of light on the doctrinal evolution of the faith in Japan.

Dr. Starr does but give us the first course of a feast, which others must furnish. Here are thirty-seven pictures of sculpture, architecture and paintings, some of them colossal. They are fairly well reproduced, and those interested would greatly enjoy seeing the whole seven score, which, with much fatigue and perseverance, and with Japanese patronage and direct help, Dr. Starr secured. The style of his little book is so easy, simple and clear, that, despite the richness of the element of personal adventure, one scarcely more than guesses at his labors, while appreciating their value. As Professor Morse made the world his debtor by showing a unique collection of pottery from Japan, so has Dr. Starr offered us a trover of which Americans may be proud. He has spoken the "open sesame" before a cave of vast riches and has entered for a preliminary inventory. May the scholar equipped with the resources of the native language and Korean history soon follow him.

Notes

AMONG the November publications of Robert M. McBride & Company are the following: "The Glorious Adventures of Tyl Ulenspiegel," by Charles de Coster; "Beyond Life," by James Branch Cabell; "The Island of Intrigue," by Isabel Ostrander; "The Education of the New Canadian," by J. T. M. Anderson; "A Captive on a German Raider," by F. G. Trayes; "Behind the Wheel of a War Ambulance," by Robert Whitney Imbrie, and "A Handbook of War Nursing," by Professor Charles Richet.

"A Popular History of France," by B. Van Vorst, is announced for publication in December by Frederick A. Stokes Company.

Harper and Brothers will publish very shortly, "Four Years in the White North," by Donald B. McMillan.

The Revell Company will shortly issue "A Century of Moravian Sisters," by Elizabeth Lehman Myers.

Harper and Brothers announce that they will publish immediately: "Tales from Shakespeare," by Charles and Mary Lamb, Louis Rhead edition; "Doctor Danny," by Ruth Sawyer; "The Cow Puncher," by Robert J. C. Stead; "The Boys' Life of Theodore Roosevelt," by Hermann Hagedorn.

"And They Thought We Wouldn't Fight," by Floyd Gibbons, is soon to be published by George H. Doran Company.

Within a week E. P. Dutton and Company will issue "Friendly Rhymes," by James W. Foley.

CÆSAR, Kaiser, Czar—in many lands and under many climes the glory of this ancient surname has lived on. It stood for centralized power—for obedience at home and for fame abroad. It guaranteed material results and only asked for a small sacrifice of the soul. We are witnessing what we hope may be the last act in the great struggle of Cæsar against Gutenberg. To destroy the Cæsarian many million men have given their lives in battle. Others also have done their share. They were reformers and their fellow-citizens called them traitors. One of these, Karl Ludwig Krause, joined the small band of German radicals who regarded the present war as a crime and who were obliged to wander in exile as long as the German press was muzzled. In Switzerland—traditional home of those who love their country more than their own comfort—he wrote his book. It has just been translated into English under the title, "What is the German Nation dying For?" (Boni and Liveright; $1.50). The answer is, "Germany is dying for a false notion of Imperial glory"; or, to return to our first simile, "The Teutons are giving their lives that Cæsar may live." Krause recites his wrongs in forty-seven short chapters. They are biting and cruel. They are journalistic, but they are journalism of a sort that has been all too rare in the present struggle. These paragraphs contain the condensed anger of a man who loves his people and who sees them the victim of a disastrous illusion. Krause prays for defeat—in the name of progress and a healthy national development. He welcomes the political creed of President Wilson as the new foundation for a world devoid at once of Cæsar and of Shylock. The suspicious will shrug their shoulders. To them this will be another manifestation of Teutonic depravity— the cunning fox preaching the millennium among the unsuspecting democratic lambkins. Those of us who firmly believe in the slow though painful growth of human understanding will welcome this book for its truth and its righteous anger. Germany's true friends have become articulate.

WHILE Dr. Horace Meyer Kallen's book, "The Structure of Lasting Peace" (Marshall Jones; $1.25), in large part traverses the familiar ground of Wilsonian liberalism, it is far from trite. It discusses a pluralistic and non-sovereign state, the divorce of the idea of freedom of nationalities from that of individual political statehood, international guaranty of the rights of minorities, and the release of education from governmental control. Dr. Kallen advocates a dictated, not a negotiated peace. He holds that the formula "no annexations" is bad as involving the crystallization of the *status quo ante;* and he argues that indemnities, while economically undesirable on Norman Angell's grounds, are psychologically desirable. At the same time he arraigns the governments of the Allies and notably the Paris Economic Conference. He condemns American Toryism and pays an interesting tribute to the Russian Revolution and the Bolsheviki. He calls the British Labor party "the second of the great constructive formations of the war" and complains of the inertness of labor in America. Lest the peace conference "begin at the wrong end" and finish as a "bargain counter between dickering diplomats" it should be made up, not of men of the diplomatic type, but of men such as John Dewey, Louis D. Brandeis, Secretary Baker, David Starr Jordan, and Thorstein Veblen. It should represent not only states but also the nationalities whose fate the Congress will decide. Armenians, Arabs and Kurds, for example, as well as Turks, should sit for Turkey. His conclusion is that there must be a democratic league of nations. "Limitation of armaments is, of course, basic," it involves the ending of all private manufacture of munitions and the requirement of international permission for all employment of arms, as for example in so-called punitive expeditions. While military action is not excluded as one of the sanctions of a league, Mr. Kallen's emphasis is on the coercive force of public opinion. This in turn depends on international mindedness, of which publicity and education are the cornerstones. It is along this line that Mr. Kallen is freshest and most suggestive. He sees, what so many writers overlook, that a league of nations occupied only with refraining from war is a psychological absurdity. The league must minister to men's basic needs and release creative energy, for example by providing (as the Allies have been doing in part) for international food supplies, the safety of waterways, health, and justice. Above all, the "instruments of internationality" must reshape education. It must be freed everywhere from state pressure and by international action must be put in charge of communities of educators who shall be autonomous at home, and vigorously coöperative abroad, making the fullest possible use of international exchanges of teachers and students.

THE Yale University Press has again served the memory of Henry Fielding, whose "Covent-Garden Journal" Dr. Jensen recently edited for the Press, by publishing an elaborate edition of "The Tragedy of Tragedies" ($3.00), under the editorship of Dr. James T. Hillhouse of the University of Minnesota, who has for the first time reprinted the 1730 (London) text of "Tom Thumb" and has given that of the later (1731) version of this most amusing burlesque with variant readings. The texts are printed with care, and the introduction and notes are generally sensible. Surely, however, Dr. Hillhouse need not suggest (page 163) that the phrase "Hymeneal Sweets" is a parody of "Hymeneal Feasts" in Charles Johnson's "Medea," when both were stock eighteenth-century poetical phrases. But such things he rarely does, having apparently known that he who annotates a farce must use his sense of humor. The introduction is sound

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and exact, making it very clear that Fielding was parodying not so much his own contemporaries as Dryden's, and Dryden himself; naturally enough, for Fielding wanted his points to be caught by his audiences, and he chose to parody the most egregious, and the most widely current, pieces of bombast which he and they knew. Dr. Hillhouse's notes are full of curious information, such, for instance, as that Phillips Brooks played the part of Glumdalca at the Hasty Pudding production of "The Grand Opera of Tom Thumb" in 1854-5. It is unfortunate, the Yale collection of Fieldingana being what it is, that the Bibliography of this volume should seem to say that "The Tragedy of Tragedies" has appeared since 1824 only in Henley's edition of Fielding. Roscoe (1840), Browne (1871), Stephen (1882), Saintsbury (1893), Gosse (1898-9), and Maynadier (1903) include it, as all who know Fielding literature will remember.

THE story of the Red Cross work for French children is particularly touching, and should have an honored place among the records of war work. One wishes that Dorothy Canfield might be the one to put it into permanent form. An inadequate volume of extracts from the intimate letters of June Richardson Lucas, never intended for publication, has been hurried into shape with the title "The Children of France and the Red Cross" (Stokes; $1.50). Mrs. Lucas has been at the very heart of Red Cross relief work for children, as her husband, Dr. William Palmer Lucas, is chief of the Children's Bureau in France. Her experiences with the *Rapatriés* were therefore closely personal, and the strain on her sympathies almost overwhelming, as the character of her journal attests. A pen more skilled might have chronicled her services more adequately. But even her fragmentary notes paint one picture that cannot be forgotten—the arrival in France of six hundred and eighty famished Belgian children. After three years' detention in Germany these little children, from four to twelve years old, were sent to France to be fed, sent alone without one grown person to watch over them. What a trainload of six hundred! Nothing like it has been seen since the tragedy of the Children's Crusade. "Not one grown-up, just children, little children, marching bravely along, singing and crying."

MR. JULIUS COHEN, who has made a specialty of popularizing law in connection with industrial problems has written a volume on "Commercial Arbitration and the Law" (Appleton; $3.00). This ancient system of settling controversies without official friction is increasing in popularity and the book, which brings together all that has so far been said and written upon the subject, comes at a most opportune time.

PERHAPS the most interesting and illuminating part of Edgar James Swift's book, "Psychology and the Day's Work" (Scribners; $2), is that devoted to the investigation of the mental processes of successful men of all sorts and conditions, ranging from military geniuses like Napoleon and men of science such as Kepler, Newton, and Faraday, to the "managers of one of the most successful chains of restaurants in large cities." The conduct of all these, he points out, is guided by "discipline and imagination." "In no case is imagination allowed to run rampant, but it is allowed to go free, guided by judgment and principle, and held in and directed by experiment." Among the obstacles to correct thinking he places foremost man's unwillingness to discard a discredited belief. Torricelli, he says, discredited the Aristotelian dictum that nature abhors a vacuum by showing that water would rise more than thirty-three feet in a pump, and mercury only about thirty inches in a tube. But his opponents refused to abandon their discredited belief. They modified it sufficiently to take in the facts observed by Torricelli. Nature, they said, abhors a vacuum up to a certain point and no further. By a skilful use of anecdote and illustrative historical matter, the author has produced an entertaining and engrossing exposition of a difficult subject.

ACCORDING to the book trade the average war-book outlives the average caterpillar by only a few hours. Forty-eight selling hours are the span of time allotted to the most recent war publications. Hence the speed with which they are turned out. Fortunately such men as Foch can stand almost any amount of well-intentioned if somewhat hasty contributions to the record of their personal valor and ability. Charles Le Goffic's book "General Foch at the Marne" (Dutton; $1.75), is much better than the average, and Foch's part in the great Marne struggle of four years ago helps to explain his phenomenal success in the drive against the Germans during the present year. Of a wholly different sort is the handy little volume of Jacques Rouvier, "Present Day Warfare" (Scribners; $1.35). It is an honest and simple statement of many military facts, and we recommend it to the bloodthirsty who love to dwell on the beauty of "bayoneting the Hun." It serves as a foil to the glories discussed in the book on General Foch. Captain H. D. Trounce's "Fighting the Boche Underground" (Scibners; $1.50), is a good war book—simple and direct. It belongs to the school of British war writings from which the followers of the Empey style might have learned much. It is modest.

FROM time to time during the last sixteen years Professor Edgar J. Goodspeed, of the University of Chicago, has done good service to the cause of New Testament scholarship in America by publishing collations of some six manuscripts of the Greek gospels which are to be found in this country or Canada, including the important uncial known as the Freer Gospels, to which the *Nation* (Oct. 7, 1915) has already briefly called attention. These six collations, hitherto separately reprinted, from one of the University's quarterlies are now advantageously bound together in one volume entitled "Greek Gospel Texts in America" (Chicago: University Press). This title recalls that there are in this country, besides the uncial fragments from Oxyrhynchus, at least seven other cursive gospels.

Art

Art at the Mercy of the Expert

Essays in the Study of Sienese Painting. By Bernard Berenson. New York: Frederick Fairchild Sherman.

WITH the first words of his preface Mr. Berenson confides to us how much "the ardor of mere discovery" has meant to him in the pursuit of his studies, even when the pictures discovered were like "the standardized products of a mint rather than the spontaneous creations of a changeful human spirit." It would be difficult, however, to point to any of Mr. Berenson's discoveries that were not, more or less, of this standardized pattern, the trouble is that the records of European art have left him little else to discover. Morelli, who originated this modern method of studying art, had the advantage of beginning his labors when the catalogues of many galleries were in need of revision, but even he had small chance for the exercise of his ingenuity where the masters were concerned. The great painters had not sufficient consideration for the modern writer on art to reduce ears and finger tips, draperies and pose, to a formula, or to arrange for the beauty they created to be best enjoyed at second hand in photographs. Mr. Berenson has never discovered for us a picture of importance, never made a new attribution that mattered one way or the other; the new "artistic personalities" he has invented are of no value save to himself. That he has been amused by his studies is possible, that he takes them seriously is evident from his indignation against those who do not, or who venture to disagree with his conclusions. But it is hard to see that he has added to the world's appreciation and knowledge of art.

His new volume is an excellent example of his methods and results. In one chapter we find him explaining as reasonable his mistaken attribution twenty years ago of the Marriage Salver now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to Matteo di Giovanni, and showing why it is impossible not to resent its mistaken attribution to-day, by somebody else, to Boccatis of Camerino. In another chapter he is busy with the task of distinguishing between Matteo and Cozzarelli, though the differences in the purely conventional Madonnas by these painters are too "subtile" and "slight" to be worth the bother and though Cozzarelli at times is so like still other painters of conventional Madonnas that even Mr. Berenson once confused him with Andrea di Nicolò. But most characteristic of all is the opening essay, in which Mr. Berenson undertakes to find a painter for a Nativity of Our Lord recently acquired by the Fogg Museum at Harvard and then to construct the painter's personality. His occupation would be gone were he to say simply that it is of the Sienese School and the fourteenth century, which is all he, or anybody,

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can say of it with a pretence to certainty. He confesses himself baffled when it comes to the painter's name, acknowledging that he does not know it, but this is his opportunity. At once he starts out to evolve one, allowing us to follow him in the process step by step. "Features of the design recall Duccio and others Lorenzo Monaco," but "in general character it approaches the Lorenzetti," also it suggests Ugolino di Vieri. Pictures are produced and reproduced in evidence, details described, and reasons given why this Nativity cannot be by any of the painters mentioned; more facts are collected, tabulated, compared, and summed up, to prove some unknown painter to be therefore responsible, not only for the Nativity, but for a whole series resembling it, and at last, out of an imposing structure of scholarship, emerges "the torso of an artistic personality . . . fresh and youthful, passionate and ardent," who must have begun "a pupil of Ugolino and ended as the follower of the Lorenzetti," and whom Mr. Berenson, with the logic peculiar to himself, names after both, Ugolino Lorenzetti, and presents as a brand-new Old Master to Siena. For the skeptic, inclined vulgarly to rank Ugolino with the more famous Mrs. Harris, Mr. Berenson is prepared. "If that name," he says, "irritates those who did not like my Amico di Sandro and Alunno di Domenico, they are free to speak of him as the 'Master of the Fogg Art Museum Harvard University Cambridge Massachusetts United States of American Nativity' "—and really, if they did, it would not be more foolish.

We do not question the hard work Mr. Berenson has done and the difficulties he has faced in order to arrive at his conclusions. We only suggest that his labors are misdirected. He reminds us that such studies as his "require the first-hand observation of the naturalist, the analysis of the psychologist, and the skill in weighing and interpreting evidence necessary to the historian." But then, we think that a right appreciation of art would have served him to better purpose. Art is not a puzzle with scattered pieces for the art expert to fit together, not a mystery with clues that only the art detective can follow to its solution. This manner of treating art leads to barren achievements. Moreover, the field for art experts and art detectives, narrow at the best, is growing narrower with time, and already it seems as if soon there would be no outlet for their energies save bickerings in their own ranks. We never remember Mr. Berenson to have indulged in such an exhibition of temper. We have referred to his little fling at the unbeliever in Ugolino Lorenzetti. He is as petulant over the "art scholars" who take less pains to announce the points of agreement than to proclaim the differences among themselves. And as for his "younger colleagues," they make him lose not only his temper, but his manners. "When you stand on another man's shoulders, try not to spit on his head," he quotes for their benefit, leaving us in doubt not only as to the practical outcome of his study of art, but as to its refining influence upon the student.

WHEN the new Classical Wing of the Metropolitan Museum was formally opened, the occasion was marked by the publication of a "Handbook of the Classical Collection," prepared by Gisela M. A. Richter, the Assistant Curator of Classical Art. Miss Richter has evidently made a careful study of the problems presented by a semi-popular guide of this sort, which must not only aim at accuracy of statement and emphasis on important details—the professional critic must always be kept in mind—but must also furnish the non-professional visitor with a modicum of general information. As each room in the classical wing is planned to illustrate a definite period in the development of Greek and Roman art, each section begins with a brief sketch of the history of the period under consideration. The contents of the room are then commented upon, with varying degrees of emphasis on single objects or groups. The result is that the visitor who follows the order of the "Handbook" in his inspection of the nine rooms of the new wing is enabled to trace in a series of significant monuments the progress of Greek and Roman art from its beginnings to the fifth century after Christ and to understand the relation of individual objects to the development as a whole. Like earlier publications of the Metropolitan Museum, the new handbook is excellently printed; the half-tone illustrations are almost without exception satisfactory; and the full index is an unusual (and welcome) addition in a book of this character. The illustrations and the index, indeed, add greatly to the value of the volume, which has an importance far beyond what is implied in its title.

Drama

Premier Clemenceau's Play

IN the midst of last week's noisy peace demonstrations there occurred one celebration of peculiar interest. It was by coincidence that November 11 had been chosen for the first production of "Le Voile du Bonheur" at the Vieux Colombier, and thus amid rejoicings for France Premier Clemenceau became known in this country as a playwright. Henceforth he will be to us not only the vigorous old statesman, but the dreamy poet. One wonders if, like the poet of his own creation, he too would not be glad to withdraw into himself from the turmoil of the world about him. The "Veil of Happiness" is in one act, and is produced in a manner at once decorative, symbolic, and deeply moving. A blind Chinese poet finds the world fair in his fellowship with learned minds, his sympathy for suffering which he can alleviate, the filial piety of his son, and the love of his wife. Then comes recognition of his poems from the emperor, who bids him ask a favor. The poet asks for the pardon of a prisoner he has befriended. The imperial favor is celebrated with incense, wine, and song (and an exquisite fragment of a dance). Then the poet falls asleep and is left alone. On waking he finds his eyesight miraculously restored and the world of visual beauty around him. But now come terrible revelations: the prisoner whom he has freed comes back to rob him; his friend has falsely set his seal of authorship on the poet's verses; he sees his supposedly dutiful son mocking his blind father. Last and most crushing he discovers his wife in the arms of his trusted friend. In his desperation he yearns for the blindness which had sheltered him from a knowledge of evil. He is still alone; no one knows that his sight is restored. His resolve is taken: the vial of precious drops which might in time have restored his eyesight, if never a drop too much were used, he empties into the eyes that betrayed him; they will never again see either good or evil. After the first agony his mind creeps back into the comfort of the darkness, and gradually he is again enfolded in the beauty of his own soul. Terrible verities fade away, and he is happy in the world of his creation. As the curtain falls he has a poem on his lips and his wife's hand in his—little knowing that save for that grudged hand she is still in the arms of her lover!

It is a strange and bitter fancy, if you like, but as given at the Vieux Colombier it was a play of rare beauty, in the decorative quality of the pavilion and the rich Chinese costumes, the subdued action, and the dignity and repression that were Oriental in essence. M. Charles Dullin as the blind Tchang-I could not have been surpassed. His dreamy voice in the early passages, his power in the awakening, and the whispered horror of his discoveries, were surpassed by the convincing way in which he withdrew himself again into his gentle world of shadows; as the outward light failed the inward light once more illumined his face. Mlle. Suzanne Bing did her best work of the season as the treacherous wife, as Chinese as a bit of old porcelain, with her dangling headdress and simpering grace. The whole performance was so balanced, sustained, and beautiful that it seems a thousand pities for it to be given but six nights in New York, and elsewhere, perhaps, not at all. If our colleges had arrived at a normal state of mind, this would be ideal for a university audience. If at the end of their New York season the actors of the Vieux Colombier should visit other cities, it is to be hoped that their repertoire will surely include "Le Voile du Bonheur."

Anatole France's "Crainquebille," also given last week, is a touching story of the unjust arrest and imprisonment of an old huckster. M. Jouvet, with his genius for playing the simple old peasant, was particularly convincing, as he sat dully in the courtroom reiterating his honesty.

M. H. B. M.

Amusements

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Finance

Future Government Financing

SINCE the signing of the armistice, there has been much discussion concerning the financial needs of our Treasury and its future policy with reference to issuing long-term or short-term loans. Secretary McAdoo has indicated that there might be one or two additional Liberty Loans and that it might be necessary for the Government to borrow a considerable amount before its engagements for war material and other outlays had been fully provided for. Exceptional interest attaches, therefore, to the suggestion that the Treasury may find it advisable to arrange for this new financing through the sale of short-term notes or bonds, running for periods varying from one to five years.

There are many reasons why our Government should adopt the British plan of offering short-term notes through successive sales to the public direct. Great Britain, thirteen months ago, entered upon such a programme, which has resulted in direct sales to the British public of about $6,000,000,000 worth of such securities, maturing within a few years. Adoption of a similar plan by the United States would relieve the country from the tension of further Liberty Loan drives, which have become such formidable affairs as to cause considerable interruption to general business. It might be necessary for the Government to offer a higher interest rate for these short-term securities, but the additional cost would be more than offset by the saving effected in making it possible for the borrower to pay off the loan within five years instead of twenty-five or thirty years.

The American public has a passion for short-term securities, which dates back to the "rich men's panic" of 1903. During that disturbance, when long-term bonds went begging, the bankers finally succeeded in selling note issues, running for one, two, or three years. In 1907 there were further issues of these notes, and during the European War period virtually all the financing that has been done by corporations has been of this character. There is every reason to believe, therefore, that if the Government should decide to finance its future war expenses through the sale of these temporary obligations, the experiment would be highly successful.

The four loans put out by our Government since it entered the list of belligerents have been well received. The last loan was in many respects the most extraordinary security offering ever attempted by a Government in war or peace. But the nation-wide canvass which these huge offerings involve represents difficult work and is productive of business disturbance. It would be a genuine relief, therefore, if the Treasury should shift to the short-term note expedient at this time when the country is wrestling with the reconstruction problem. The successful effort to place war savings stamps and thrift stamps with the small investor suggests the advisability of selling the proposed notes direct to the public through continuous sales at banks, post-offices, and the sub-treasuries.

Thousands of investors would be glad to purchase a government security, maturing within five or ten years and offering a sufficiently generous income return to compete advantageously with the note issues put out by private corporations. The situation is full of interesting possibilities, and since the market for long-term bonds would not be seriously disturbed by raising the interest rate on a government note having only a few years to run, there does not appear to be any good reason why the Washington authorities should adhere to the twenty-five-year loans, inasmuch as the war is over and the burdens of the reconstruction period will call for large financing through the sale of long-term corporation bonds.

Meanwhile the Finance Committee of the Senate is at work on the new revenue bill. In view of the ending of the war, it is proposed to lower the total to $6,000,000,000, in accordance with the recommendation of Secretary McAdoo, who has suggested also that the levy for 1920 be $4,000,000,000. As Mr. McAdoo urges, it is important to advise business men in advance as to what taxes they will have to pay, but the Secretary's specific recommendations may meet with sharp opposition because of prospective Republican control of Congress after March 4 next. Senator Penrose announces that the plans for the 1920 taxes will include a protective tariff.

WILLIAM JUSTUS BOIES

BOOKS OF THE WEEK

ESSAYS AND CRITICISM

Boreham, F. W. The Silver Shadow, The Luggage of Life, The Golden Milestone. The Abingdon Press. $1.25 each.
Follett, Wilson. The Modern Novel. Knopf. $2.
Palmer, G. H. Formative Types in English Poetry. Houghton, Mifflin. $1.50.
Royds, T. F. Virgil and Isaiah. Longmans, Green. $1.75.

POETRY AND DRAMA

Cotter, J. S. The Band of Gideon. Cornhill. $1.
Eastman, Max. Colors of Life. Knopf. $1.25.
Gibran, Kahill. The Madman. Knopf. $1.25.
More, Brookes. The Lover's Rosary. Cornhill. $1.25.
Rilke, R. M. Poems. New York: Tobias A. Wright.
Rolland, Romain. The People's Theater. Holt. $1.35.
Thomson, O. R. H. The Modern Comedy. Cornhill. $1.25.

THE ARTS

Braglon, Claude. Architecture and Democracy. Knopf. $2.
Bryant, L. M. Famous Pictures of Real Animals. Lane. $1.50.

FICTION

Gale, Zona. Birth. Macmillan. $1.60.
Gilchrist, B. B. Cinderella's Granddaughter. Century. $1.25.
Hyatt, Verrill. A. The Trail of the Cloven Foot. Dutton $1.60.
Kaye-Smith, Sheila. Little England. London: Nisbet.
Kirk, R. G. Zanoza. Knopf. 75 cents.
Lincoln, N. S. The Three Strings. Appleton. $1.50.
Poole, Ernest. The Village. Macmillan. $1.50.
Smith, J. T. Biltmore Oswald. Stokes. 75 cents.

BIOGRAPHY AND HISTORY

Faris, J. T. Historic Shrines of America. Doran. $3.
Schelking, Eugene de. Recollections of a Russian Diplomat. Macmillan. $2.50.

NATURAL SCIENCE

Bone, W. A. Coal and Its Scientific Uses. Longmans, Green. $7.
Hart, Bernard. The Modern Treatment of Mental and Nervous Disorders. Longmans, Green. 50 cents.

PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION

Ayres, C. E. The Nature of the Relationship Between Ethics and Economics. University of Chicago Press. 50 cents.
Calkins, M. W. The Good Man and the Good. Macmillan. $1.30.
Thompson, S. P. A Not Impossible Religion. Lane.

THE WAR

Boynton, R. W. The Vital Issues of the War. The Beacon Press. $1.
Gauss, Christian. Why We Went to War. Scribners. $1.50.
Morse, E. W. The Vanguard of American Volunteers. Scribners. $1.50.
Nicolai, G. F. The Biology of War. Century. $3.50.
Rihbany, M. America, Save the Near East. The Beacon Press. $1.

JUVENILE

Austin, Mary. The Trail Book. Houghton, Mifflin. $2.
Borgengren, Ralph. Jane, Joseph, and John. The Atlantic Press.
English Fairy Tales. Retold by Flora Annie Steel. Macmillan. $2.50.
Everychild's Mother Goose. Macmillan. $2.
Little Miss Grasshopper. By the author of "Heidi." Crowell. 50 cents.
Mathews, E. K. The Boy Scouts Year Book. Appleton. $2.
Olcott, F. J. The Book of Elves and Fairies. Houghton, Mifflin. $2.
Sindelar, J. G. Father Thrift. Beckly Cardy. 50 cents.

MISCELLANEOUS

Coleridge, Hon. Stephen. Great Testimony Against Scientific Cruelty. Lane.

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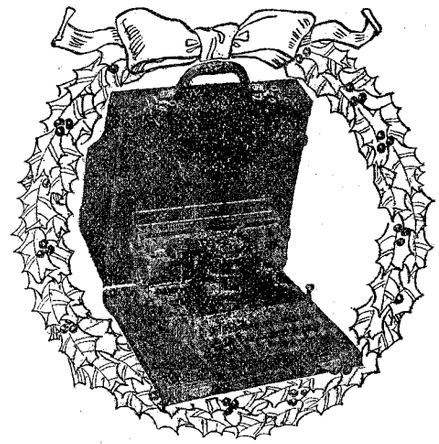

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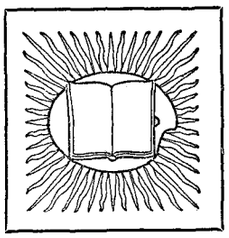

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